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Hong Kong, B. C. C.

April 28-May 5, 1975

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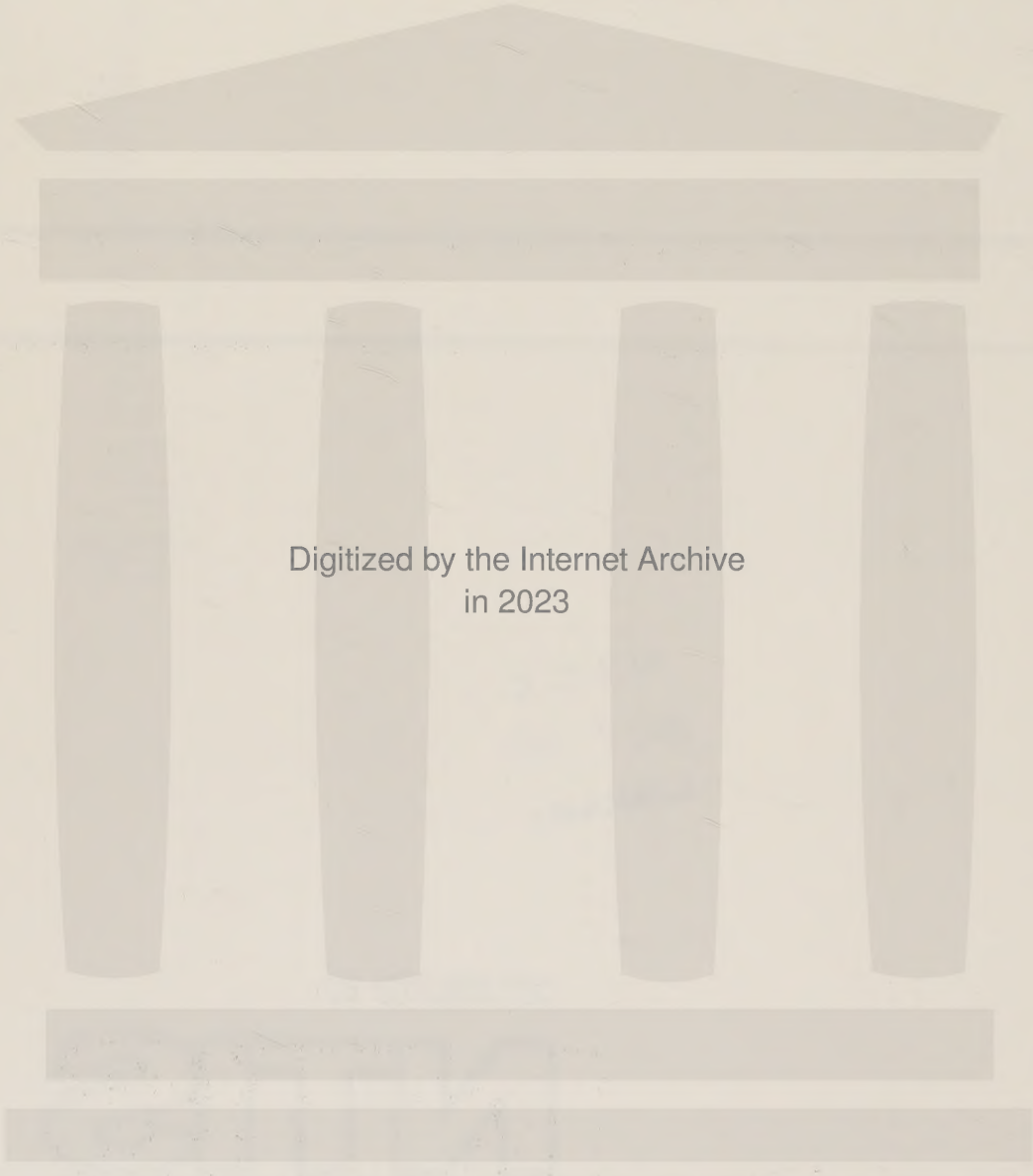

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Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
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Quotations from Chairman Mao

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation.

According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only presupposes the effort of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in that country but also awaits the victory of the world revolution and the destruction of the system of exploitation of man by man in the whole world leading to the emancipation of the whole of mankind. For this reason, to speak lightly of the final victory of China's revolution is wrong, anti-Leninist and inconsistent with facts.

The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture.

In the building of a socialist society, everybody needs remolding--the exploiters and also the working people. Who says the working class does not need it? Of course, the remolding of the exploiters is qualitatively different from that of the working people, and the two must not be confused. The working class remolds the whole of society in class struggle and in the struggle against nature, and at the same time remolds itself. It must ceaselessly learn in the course of its work and overcome its shortcomings step by step, and must never stop doing so.

* * *

On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie

by

Chang Ch'un-ch'iao (張春橋)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 4, April 1, 1975)

The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has long been the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. Lenin said: "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." And it is for the very purpose of enabling us to go in for Marxism and not revisionism in both theory and practice that Chairman Mao calls on our whole nation to get a clear idea of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our country finds itself at an important period of historical development. After more than two decades of socialist revolution and socialist construction, particularly after the liquidation of the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and of Lin Piao in the great proletarian cultural revolution, our dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever, and our socialist cause is thriving. Full of militancy, the people of the whole country are determined to build China into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century. In the course of this effort and in the entire historical period of socialism, whether we can persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end is a cardinal question that affects the future of our country's development. Current class struggle, too, makes it necessary for us to get clear on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao says: "Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism" It won't do if only a few people grasp the point; "this should be made known to the whole nation." Success in this study has a current and far-reaching significance that can never be over-estimated.

As early as 1920, Lenin, on the basis of his practical experience in leading the Great October Socialist Revolution and directing the first state of proletarian dictatorship, sharply pointed out, "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential." Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle--bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and

economic, educational and administrative--against the forces and traditions of the old society, that it is an all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Lenin time and again stressed that it is impossible to triumph over the bourgeoisie without exercising a protracted, all-round dictatorship over it. These words of Lenin's, especially those he underscored, have been proved by practice in subsequent years. Sure enough, the new bourgeois have been engendered in one batch after another, and their representative is none other than the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique. These people generally have a good class background; almost all of them have been brought up under the red flag; they have joined the Communist Party organizationally, received college training and become so-called red experts. But they are new poisonous weeds engendered by the old soil of capitalism. They have betrayed their own class, usurped Party and state power, restored capitalism and become chieftains of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, and accomplished what Hitler had tried but failed to accomplish. At no time should we forget this historical experience in which "the satellites rose to the sky while the red flag fell to the ground," especially at a time when we are determined to build a powerful country.

We must be soberly aware that there is still the danger of China turning revisionist. This is not only because imperialism and social-imperialism always set their minds on aggression and subversion against us, and the old landlords and capitalists, unreconciled to their defeat, are still there, but also because new bourgeois elements are, as Lenin put it, being engendered daily and hourly. Some comrades argue that Lenin was referring to the situation before cooperation. This is obviously incorrect. Lenin's remarks are not out of date. These comrades may look up Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" published in 1957. There Chairman Mao presents the concrete analysis that, after basic victory in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership, which includes the achievement of cooperation, there still exist in China classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there still exist harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Having summed up the new experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat after Lenin, Chairman Mao answered in a systematic way questions arising after the change in the system of ownership, set forth the tasks and policies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid the theoretical basis of the Party's basic line and of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Practice in the past 18 years, particularly in the great proletarian cultural revolution, has proved that the theory, line and policies advanced by Chairman Mao are entirely correct.

Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." In order to gain a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's instruction, let us take a look at the changes in the system

of ownership in China and the proportions of the various economic sectors in China's industry, agriculture and commerce in 1973.

First, industry. Industry under ownership by the whole people accounted for 97 percent of the fixed assets of industry as a whole, 63 percent of the industrial population, and 86 percent of the value of total industrial output. Industry under collective ownership accounted for 3 percent of the fixed assets, 36.2 percent of the industrial population, and 14 percent of the total output value. Besides these, individual handicraftsmen made up 0.8 percent of the industrial population.

Next, agriculture. Among the agricultural means of production, about 90 percent of the farmland and of the irrigation-drainage machinery and about 80 percent of the tractors and draft animals were under collective ownership. Those under ownership by the whole people made up a very small proportion. Hence, over 90 percent of the nation's grain and various industrial crops came from the collective economy. The state farms accounted for only a small proportion. Apart from these, there still remained the small plots farmed by commune members for their personal needs and limited household sideline production,

Then commerce. State commerce accounted for 92.5 percent of the total volume of retail sales, commercial enterprises under collective ownership for 7.3 percent, and individual pedlars for 0.2 percent. Apart from these, there still remained a sizable amount of trade conducted at rural fairs.

The above figures show that socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people have indeed won great victory in China. The dominant position of ownership by the whole people has been very much enhanced and there have also been some changes in the economy of the people's commune as regards the proportions of ownership at the three levels--the commune, the production brigade and the production team. On Shanghai's outskirts, for example, income at the commune level in proportion to total income rose from 28.1 percent in 1973 to 30.5 percent in 1974, that of the brigades rose from 15.2 percent to 17.2 percent, while that of the teams dropped from 56.7 percent to 52.3 percent. The people's commune has demonstrated ever more clearly its superiority of being larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership. In so far as we have, step by step in the past 25 years, eliminated ownership by imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and feudalism, transformed ownership by national capitalism and by the individual laborer and replaced these five kinds of private ownership with the two kinds of socialist public ownership, we can proudly declare that the system of ownership in China has changed, that the proletariat and other working people in China have in the main freed themselves from the shackles of private ownership, and that China's socialist economic base has been gradually consolidated and developed. The Constitution adopted by the Fourth National People's Congress clearly records these great victories of ours.

However, we must see that the issue has not been entirely settled with respect to the system of ownership. We often say that the issue of

the system of ownership "has in the main been settled"; this means that it has not been settled entirely, neither has bourgeois right been totally abolished in the realm of the system of ownership. Statistics cited above show that private ownership still exists in part of industry, agriculture as well as commerce, that socialist public ownership does not consist purely of ownership by the whole people but includes two kinds of ownership, and that ownership by the whole people is as yet rather weak in agriculture, the foundation of the national economy. The non-existence of bourgeois right in the realm of the system of ownership in a socialist society, as conceived by Marx and Lenin, implies the conversion of all the means of production into the common property of the whole society. Clearly we have not yet advanced to that stage. Neither in theory nor in practice should we overlook the very arduous tasks that lie ahead of the dictatorship of the proletariat in this respect.

Moreover, we must see that both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership involve the question of leadership, that is, the question of ownership by which class, not just in name but in reality.

Speaking at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party on April 28, 1969, Chairman Mao said: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories--I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them--leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shao-ch'i--simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there were indeed bad people in the factories." "This showed that the revolution remained unfinished." Chairman Mao's remarks not only explain the necessity of the great proletarian cultural revolution but enable us to see more clearly that on the problem of the system of ownership, as on all other problems, we should pay attention not only to its form but also to its actual content. It is perfectly correct for people to attach importance to the decisive role of the system of ownership in the relations of production. But it is incorrect to attach no importance to whether the issue of the system of ownership has been resolved in form or in reality, to the reaction exerted on the system of ownership by the two other aspects of the relations of production--the relations between men and the form of distribution--and to the reaction exerted on the economic base by the superstructure; these two aspects and the superstructure may play a decisive role under given conditions. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line, and the control of leadership in the hands of one class or another, decide which class owns a factory in reality. Comrades may recall how an enterprise owned by bureaucrat

capital or national capital was turned into a socialist enterprise. Didn't we do the job by sending there a representative for military control or a state representative to transform it according to the Party's line and policies? Historically, every major change in the system of ownership, be it the replacement of slave system by feudal system or of feudalism by capitalism, was invariably preceded by the seizure of political power which was then used to change the system of ownership on a big scale and consolidate and develop the new system of ownership. This is even more so with socialist public ownership which cannot be brought forth under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bureaucrat capital, which controlled 80 percent of the industry in old China, could be transformed and placed under ownership by the whole people only after the People's Liberation Army had defeated Chiang Kai-shek. Likewise, a capitalist restoration is inevitably preceded by the seizure of leadership and a change in the line and policies of the Party. Wasn't this the way Khrushchev and Brezhnev changed the system of ownership in the Soviet Union? Wasn't this the way Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao changed the nature of a number of our factories and other enterprises to varying degrees?

Also, we must see that what we practice today is a commodity system. Chairman Mao says: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. So if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This state of affairs which Chairman Mao pinpointed cannot be changed in a short period. Take for instance the rural people's communes on the outskirts of Shanghai where the economy at the commune and production brigade levels has developed at a rather fast pace. The commune accounts for 34.2 percent of the fixed assets owned at all three levels, the brigade accounts for only 15.1 percent while the production team still accounts for 50.7 percent. Therefore, considering the economic conditions in the commune alone, it will take a fairly long time to effect the transition from the team to the brigade and then to the commune functioning as the basic accounting unit. Even when the commune is made the basic accounting unit, it will still remain under collective ownership. Thus within a short period no basic change will take place in the situation in which there are both ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. So long as these two kinds of ownership still exist, commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work are inevitable. Since "these can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat," the growth of capitalist factors in town and country and the emergence of new bourgeois elements are likewise inevitable. If these are not restricted, capitalism and the bourgeoisie will grow faster. Therefore, on no account should we relax our vigilance just because we have won great victory in the transformation of the system of ownership and carried out a great proletarian cultural revolution. We must realize that our economic base is not yet solid and that bourgeois right, which has not yet been abolished entirely in the system of ownership, is still prevalent to a serious extent in the relations between men and holds a dominant position in distribution. In the various spheres of the superstructure, some aspects are in fact still controlled by the bourgeoisie which is predominant there; some are being transformed but the results are

not yet consolidated, and old ideas and the old force of habit are trying stubbornly to hold back the growth of socialist new things. New bourgeois elements are engendered, group after group, in the wake of the development of capitalist factors in town and country. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. Even when all the landlords and capitalists of the old generation have died, such class struggles will by no means come to a stop, and a bourgeois restoration may still occur if people like Lin Piao come to power. In his speech "The Situation and Our Policy after the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan," Chairman Mao said that in 1936 near the site of the Party Central Committee in Pao-an, there was a fortified village held by a handful of armed counter-revolutionaries who obstinately refused to surrender until the Red Army swept in to settle the problem. The story has a universal significance, and it tells us: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall, this is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust never vanishes of itself." Today there are still many "fortified villages" held by the bourgeoisie; when one is destroyed, another will spring up, and even when all but one have been destroyed, this last one will not vanish of itself if the iron broom of the proletariat does not reach there. What Lenin said is entirely correct: "For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential."

Historical experience shows us that whether the proletariat can triumph over the bourgeoisie and whether China will turn revisionist hinges on whether we can persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres and at all stages of development in the revolution. What is all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? The most succinct generalization is found in a passage from a letter Marx wrote in 1852 to J. Weydemeyer, which we are all studying. Marx said: "No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." In this remarkable observation, Lenin said, Marx succeeded in expressing with striking clarity the chief and radical difference between his theory on the state and that of the bourgeoisie, and the essence of his teaching on the state. Here it should be noted that Marx divided the sentence on the dictatorship of the proletariat into three parts, which are nevertheless interrelated and cannot be seperated. It is impermissible to accept only one of the three points while rejecting the other two. For the sentence gives perfect expression to the entire process of the inception, development and withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat and covers

the whole task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its actual content. In "The Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850," Marx deals in more specific terms with this dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of all class distinctions, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations. Here Marx says "all," and in all four places! Not a part, nor a greater part, nor even the greatest part, but all! This is nothing surprising, for only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. The only way to attain this goal is to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, until the above-mentioned four "alls" are abolished on the earth so that it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to exist or for new ones to arise, and we must not call a halt along the path of transition. In our view, only those who have such an understanding can grasp the essence of Marx's teaching on the state. Comrades, please think it over: If the point is not to be grasped this way, if Marxism is to be limited, curtailed and distorted in theory and practice, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be turned into an empty phrase, or all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie rendered incomplete and exercised only in some but not all spheres,or only at some stages (for instance, before the transformation of the system of ownership) but not at all stages, or in other words, if the "fortified villages" of the bourgeoisie are not all destroyed but some are left to allow the bourgeoisie to expand its ranks again, doesn't that mean to prepare the conditions for a bourgeois restoration? Doesn't it mean to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into something that protects the bourgeoisie, particularly the newly engendered bourgeoisie? All workers, all poor and lower-middle peasants and all other working people who refuse to suffer once again, all communists who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, and all comrades who do not want China to turn revisionist, must firmly bear in mind this basic principle of Marxism: it is imperative to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and it is absolutely impermissible to give it up half-way. There are undeniably some comrades among us who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but not ideologically. In their world outlook they have not yet stepped out of the confines of small production and of the bourgeoisie. They do approve of the dictatorship of the proletariat at certain stages and in certain spheres and are pleased with certain victories of the proletariat, because these will bring them some gains; once they have secured their gains, they feel it's time to settle down and feather their cozy nests. As for exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, as for following up the first step on the 10,000-li long march, sorry, let others do the job; here is my stop and I must get off the bus. We would like to offer a piece of advice to these comrades: It's dangerous to stop half-way! The bourgeoisie is beckoning to you. Catch up with the ranks and continue the advance!

Historical experience also shows us that, as the dictatorship of the proletariat wins one victory after another, the bourgeoisie may pretend on the surface to accept this dictatorship while in reality it continues to work for the restoration of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is exactly what Khrushchev and Brezhnev have done. They changed neither the name of "Soviet," nor the name of the Party of Lenin, nor the name of "socialist republic," but accepting these names and using them as a cover, deprived the dictatorship of the proletariat of its actual content and turned it into a dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class against the Soviet, the Party of Lenin and the socialist republics. In open betrayal of Marxism, they put forward the revisionist program of "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire people." However, they flaunt the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress the masses of the Soviet people who rise against their fascist dictatorship. Similar cases have occurred in China. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao did not limit themselves to spreading the theory of the dying out of class struggle; they, too, flaunted the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat when they suppressed the revolution. Didn't Lin Piao preach his four "never forgets"? One of these was 'never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat." Indeed there was something he "never forgot," only the words "to overthrow" should be inserted here to make it "never forget to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat", or on the confession of his gang, "wave Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces." At times they acted "in submission" to the proletariat and even pretended to be more revolutionary than anyone else, raising "Left" slogans to create confusion and carry out sabotage, but they constantly waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the proletariat. You wanted to carry out socialist transformation? They said the new democratic order had to be consolidated. You wanted to organize cooperatives and communes? They said it was too early to do that. When you said literature and art should be revolutionized, they said it would do no harm to put on some ghost plays. You wanted to restrict bourgeois right? They said it was a very good thing indeed and should be extended. They are past masters at defending old things and, like a swarm of flies, hum all day long over the "birth marks" and "defects" of the old society as referred to by Marx. Taking advantage of the inexperience of young people, they are particularly keen to peddle among the youth the idea that material incentive, like odd-smelling bean curd, smells awful but tastes good. And they always wave the banner of socialism while committing these acts of disgrace. Don't some bad eggs engage in speculation, graft and theft say that they are going in for socialist cooperation? Don't some abettors who poison the minds of young people wave the banner of "care and love for the successors to the cause of communism"? We must study their tactics and sum up our experience so as to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in a more effective way.

"Are you out to stir up a wind of 'communization'?" To fabricate rumors by posing such a question is a tactic which some persons have recently resorted to. To this we can answer explicitly: The wind of "communization" as stirred up by Liu Shao-ch'i and Ch'en Po-ta shall never be allowed to rise again. We have always held that, instead of having too big a supply of commodities, our country does not yet have a great abundance

of them. So long as the communes cannot yet offer much to be "communized" with production brigades and teams, and enterprises under ownership by the whole people cannot offer a great abundance of products for distribution according to need among our eight hundred million people, we will have to continue with commodity production, exchange through money and distribution according to work. We have taken and will continue to take proper measures to curb the harm caused by these things. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship by the masses. We are confident that under the leadership of the Party, the broad masses have the strength and the ability to fight against the bourgeoisie and finally vanquish it. Old China was a country submerged in a vast sea of small production. Conducting socialist education among several hundred million peasants is always a serious problem and requires the endeavor of several generations. But the poor and lower-middle peasants form the majority among the several hundred million peasants, and they know from practice that the one and only bright path for them is to follow the Communist Party and advance along the socialist road. Our Party has relied upon them to unite with the middle peasants for a step-by-step advance from mutual-aid teams to the elementary and advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives and then to the people's communes, and we can surely lead them onward.

We would rather call comrades' attention to the fact that it is another kind of wind which is blowing--the "bourgeois" wind. This is the bourgeois style of life Chairman Mao has pointed out, an evil wind stirred up by those "parts" of people who have degenerated into bourgeois elements. The "bourgeois" wind blowing from among those Communists, particularly leading cadres, who belong to these "parts," does the greatest harm to us. Poisoned by this evil wind, some people are permeated with bourgeois ideas; they scramble for position and gain and feel proud instead of ashamed of this. Some have reached the point of looking at everything as a commodity, including themselves. They join the Communist Party and do some work for the proletariat merely for the sake of upgrading themselves as commodities and asking the proletariat for higher prices. Those who are Communists in name but new bourgeois elements in reality manifest the features of the decadent and moribund bourgeoisie as a whole. Historically, when the slave-owning, landlord and capitalist classes were in the ascendancy, they did some good turns for mankind. The new bourgeois elements today act in diametrical opposition to their forefathers. They are nothing but a "new" heap of garbage and can only be destructive to mankind. Among those who spread the rumor about a wind of "communization" being stirred up, some are new bourgeois elements who have taken public property into their private possession and fear that the people would "communize" it again; others are people who want to seize the opportunity to grab some gains. These people have a better nose than many of our comrades. Some of our comrades say that study is a flexible task, whereas those people have sensed by instinct that the current study is an inflexible task for both classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They may indeed stir up some wind of "communization" or take over one of our slogans deliberately to confuse the two different types of contradictions and create some trouble. This merits our attention.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the mighty proletarian revolutionary contingents formed by the masses in their hundreds of millions in China are striding forward. With 25 years of practical experience in the dictatorship of the proletariat and the international experience since the Paris Commune, and as long as the few hundred members of our Party Central Committee and the several thousand senior cadres take the lead and join the vast numbers of cadres and masses of people in reading and studying assiduously, conducting investigation and study and summing up experience, we can certainly translate Chairman Mao's call into reality, get a clear idea of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and insure the triumphant advance of our country along the course charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." This infinitely bright future will surely continue to inspire growing numbers of awakened workers and other working people and their vanguard, the Communists, to keep to the Party's basic line and persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end! The fall of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and the victory of communism are inevitable, certain and independent of man's will.

* * *

Study Well and Understand Thoroughly on the Plane of Integrating Theory with Practice

- Commentary -

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 4, April 1, 1975)

Guided by Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, a movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is rising on a nationwide scale. People are all engaged in serious reading and keen discussion, and are doing deep thinking in the light of actual conditions. The study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has fired the masses and cadres with greater revolutionary enthusiasm and pushed forward work in all fields; the revolutionary people are highly inspired while the class enemies are stricken with fear and panic; the ideas and style of the proletariat are being commended while those of the bourgeoisie are being fought. All this fully demonstrates the tremendous might of the masses grasping revolutionary theory, and the situation is splendid. We should further strengthen our leadership, raise the level of our understanding, remove certain ideological obstacles, and guide the study to greater depths.

To study well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is essential to do serious reading in the first place. Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory is most profound in meaning and very rich in content. While once again putting before all comrades in the Party, in clear-cut terms, the issue of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing a capitalist restoration, Chairman Mao analyzes the social basis and class roots that give rise to revisionism and thus further clarifies the course for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should study Chairman Mao's instruction sentence by sentence and paragraph by paragraph, digest it carefully, find out exactly what it means, and grasp its essence. We should do likewise in studying the expositions and relevant works of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the series of instructions and relevant works of Chairman Mao on the same subject. This is what many of our comrades are doing. But there are also some comrades who are not in the habit of reading and studying conscientiously and thinking hard, and who tend to make no efforts to understand things thoroughly, and so fail to achieve the intended results. One who does not read conscientiously and is not clear about major questions of theory cannot possibly understand and implement the Party's line, principles and policies well and is liable to be duped and misled in the complicated struggle between the two lines. The victory of Marxism compels all opportunists to adorn themselves with Marxist-Leninist phrases. A trick they all resort to in their opposition to Marxism is to flaunt the banner of Marxism-Leninism while distorting and tampering with its revolutionary principles, emasculating its essence, blunting its revolutionary edge, and "revising" it into something adapted to the needs of the bourgeoisie. Aiming precisely at this trick of theirs and taking into account the lessons of some comrades who have been duped and misled, Chairman Mao has taught the whole Party to "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism." In

our current study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching, exert ourselves to read and study conscientiously, and try in every way to study well and understand thoroughly on the plane of integrating theory with practice.

In order to heighten our consciousness of the need to study theory and deepen our criticism of revisionism, it is essential to perceive the harm of empiricism. Those afflicted with empiricism deny the truth that the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything; they tend to be complacent over their occasional success and glimpses of truth, belittle the role of revolutionary theory as the guide to practice, fail to understand the importance of systematizing and synthesizing their experience and raising it to the level of theory, and mistake their partial experience for universal truth. Thus they fall an easy prey to opportunists flying the colors of Marxism-Leninism. In opposing and sabotaging the study of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, Lin Piao vainly attempted to deprive certain people of their ability to distinguish between right and wrong on the question of the line on the ideological and political plane so that they might follow his revisionist line blindly. In order to win complete victory over revisionism, we must have a profound understanding of Chairman Mao's thesis: "Perception only solves the problem of phenomena; theory alone can solve the problem of essence." ("On Practice") We must always bear in mind Lenin's thesis: "The role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a Party that is guided by the most advanced theory." ("What Is To Be Done")

Linking theory with practice is an important method to achieve success in theoretical study. Only when one reads conscientiously and grasps the essence of theory can one find a clear orientation in linking it with practice; only when one links it with practice and sums up experience can one go ever deeper in study and better understand and grasp theory.

What is meant by linking theory with practice as Chairman Mao advocates? It means the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In specific terms, it means: "In accordance with the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, correctly interpret the practical problems arising in the course of history and revolution and give scientific explanations and theoretical elucidations of China's economic, political, military, cultural and other problems." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") Some comrades over-simplify integration of theory with reality, merely making a list of social phenomena and discussing every case only on its own merit, neither conducting analysis or research nor raising their conceptual knowledge to the level of rational knowledge. Integrating theory with practice in this way is to no great effect for it cannot help us achieve the aim of study. We should, on the basis of conscientious reading, make particular reference to practice in the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and sum up the experience gained by our Party, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, in carrying out socialist transformation, continuously repulsing the attacks of the bourgeoisie, clearing out bourgeois representatives from the Party, adopting a series of measures to restrict bourgeois right in the political, economic and

cultural fields, and exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. This will be of great help to acquiring a good grasp of theory and enhancing our consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should make particular reference to the current conditions in the class struggle in society and the struggle between the two lines, and correctly analyze the situation and recognize the social basis and class roots that give rise to revisionism as well as the danger of capitalist restoration. We should moreover conscientiously sum up the fresh experience gained by the masses and cadres in criticizing capitalism, breaking down the old traditional ideas, combating the bourgeois style of life and fulfilling the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to the grassroots level. We should, in the light of the realities of the Soviet Union's degeneration into revisionism, examine the lesson of Soviet revisionism's all-round restoration of capitalism from the standpoint of the line, the economic base and the superstructure. This provides us with a very good piece of teaching material by negative example in our study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should also link the study with the remolding of our own world outlook, clear away our muddled ideas on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, draw a clear line of demarcation from the capitalist forces and the idea of bourgeois right, and foster and enhance the concept of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; leading cadres in particular should exert themselves to do so. Only by conducting our study through such an integration of theory with practice can we really get clear on the question of the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and achieve better results in study.

As our study has only just begun, the main purpose of linking theory with practice at present is to enable us to study theory well and have a good grasp of it. In linking theory with practice, we will come across and raise many new problems, which will prompt us to go further in theoretical study, analyze contradictions and find the solutions. We must study around the questions raised by Chairman Mao and must not entangle ourselves with side issues to the neglect of the principal problems which we must clarify in the current study. In the study, we should take Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory as the key link, conduct some investigations and study in a planned way with clear objectives in mind, and seriously probe into questions of the economic base and the superstructure. This is an essential condition for linking theory with practice to good effect. When it comes to questions of policies and systems, we should act prudently and, where specific policies have been laid down, do accordingly and refrain from making indiscreet alterations. We should, on the basis of making a good study of theory and acquiring factual data, conduct a comprehensive and detailed study of these questions and judge them on the merit of each case.

The rising tide of the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship by the whole Party and the people throughout the country has made a handful of class enemies and the capitalist forces feel the pressure

on them. This is quite natural. The day of ascendancy for proletarian uprightness is the day of descendancy for bourgeois wickedness. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship by the overwhelming majority over a small minority. Our aim is precisely to create a powerful mass opinion and strike fear into the minds of the class enemies, that is, "the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction," so that the capitalist forces will not be able to rear their heads and will have to put some restraints on themselves. Some people are worried about possible "disorder." The fact is that the broad masses have bitter hatred for the class enemies and capitalist forces and stand firmly against them; the more we strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the more we heighten the people's awareness of the need to combat and prevent revisionism and continue the revolution, and the more we eliminate "this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism," the more consolidated will be our proletarian state and the more stable and united will be our country. Through this study, we aim precisely to further promote nationwide stability and unity, enhance the excellent situation, develop the economic, cultural and other endeavors of socialism, and win new victories in socialist revolution and construction.

Since the study movement was launched, a small number of comrades afflicted with the bourgeois style of life have had some "misgivings." For these comrades, it is necessary to do more ideological work and help them raise their level of understanding and adjust their attitude. For the whole Party and the people throughout the country, the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship is a widespread movement of Marxist-Leninist education. For those people who are afflicted with the bourgeois style of life, too, it is of course a good opportunity to accept education and rectify their mistakes. Chairman Mao's consistent policy is: Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient. If a person has committed mistakes, it will be all right provided he corrects them on his own initiative, and that is the attitude the Party and the people welcome. Our comrades should not act like "Lord Sheh who likes but is frightened by dragons," talking about the need to combat and prevent revisionism every day, but when they actually have to combat and prevent revisionism, they succumb to "fear." We should see that the Party, the people and we ourselves shall benefit when we, through study, raise our consciousness, criticize and discard the bourgeois style of life that corrupts our thinking and endanger the revolutionary cause, and clearly demarcate ourselves from revisionism. On the other hand, there will be terrible consequences if we do not see a doctor when we get sick, keep taking the evil capitalist road, and sink deeper into the bourgeois quagmire.

To study well Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat is at present the foremost task lying before all comrades in the Party. Leading cadres must take the lead in studying well, in reading conscientiously and in getting a good grasp on the plane of integrating theory with practice, and must give effective leadership to the study by the Party

membership and the masses. It is necessary to work out a long-term plan and make specific arrangements, pay attention to summing up experience and grasping typical cases so as to achieve a general advance and deepen the study step by step. Theory is the guide to action. Success in the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the whole Party and the people throughout the country will assuredly give a powerful spur to our cause of revolution and construction. Historical experience has long proved: Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.

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Recall the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" Movements

by

Chai Ch'ing (翟 青)

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Hung-ch'i Editor's Note: Many young people who have grown up since the founding of the People's Republic of China have no idea what the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements were about. We therefore publish this article of recollection for our young comrades to read. It is also advisable for comrades who participated in these movements to recall that great struggle in which we defeated the frantic offensive by the bourgeoisie, and to recall these movements in light of their own understanding now, so as to consciously resist corrosion by the bourgeois ideas and carry forward the revolutionary style of hard struggle and plain living.

Since Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory was published, the whole country has been swept by a vigorous high tide of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the course of this great study movement we should conscientiously sum up the historical experience of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie since the founding of our country and recall the history of the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements. This should be useful to us in getting a clear theoretical understanding of the question of why dictatorship must be exercised over the bourgeoisie.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the beginning of a new historical stage of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat for the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Together with this historical change, the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie also rose to become the main contradictions within the country. Since the spearhead of the socialist revolution was directed at the bourgeoisie, it was inevitable that it would meet with protracted, sometimes even very acute, resistance of all kinds from the bourgeoisie. The first major trial of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in our country during the period of socialism was precisely the movements launched two years after the founding of our country--the "San Fan" (opposing corruption, waste and bureaucracy within the organs of the Party and state) and the "Wu Fan" (opposing bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing state's economic information by the bourgeoisie). This struggle was started by the bourgeoisie and its agents. At the time, new China had just been founded, and the people of the whole country were fighting courageously under the CCP leadership in three fields--land reform, suppression of counter-revolutionaries, and resisting US aggression and aiding Korea.

It was at this time that the bourgeoisie started its frenzied offensive against the proletariat. Both by coming out in the open itself and by using the hidden spies it had sent into or installed in the Party and government organs, financial and economic organs in particular, the bourgeoisie carried out its "five poisonous" activities to sabotage the socialist economic construction; namely, bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing the state's economic information. Meanwhile, as a result of corrosion by the bourgeoisie, some people among the revolutionary ranks also became seriously afflicted with the "three evils" of corruption, waste and bureaucracy. Some of them had been so demoralized that they became degenerates and new bourgeois elements. Others required an exposure in the sun before they could become healthy again without the mildew that had appeared on their bodies. In the face of such a situation, the proletariat had to wage a resolute struggle against the acts of "five poisons" and "three evils" and win victories in the struggle. Otherwise it would lose the political power it had just acquired.

Our great leader Chairman Mao, who had mastered an abundance of materials about this struggle, made a concrete and incisive analysis of the movements of the different classes in the struggle, and in good time laid down the great strategic plan for an counter-attack against the bourgeois offensive. Chairman Mao made this call: "Rise up, all the people and working personnel in our country: Let us, with all-out efforts and in a sweeping manner, launch a large-scale struggle against corruption, against waste and against bureaucracy. Let us wash away these filthy poisons left over from the old society!" Under his personal initiative and leadership, the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements were swiftly unfolded nationwide. After a severe struggle of about half a year beginning from December 1951 through June 1952, the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements won their brilliant historic victories.

A host of facts that came to light during the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements revealed the shocking nature of the crimes committed and the tricks employed by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. On the one hand, they planted their people in the administrative and economic organs of the state to seek trust and high rank and to work as informers. On the other hand, they won over many of the personnel retained from the previous administration and showered sugar-coated bullets on the weak-willed within the revolutionary ranks, getting these people to work with them against the socialist cause. At that time, there was a Tak'ang Dispensary in Shanghai, stronghold of the bourgeoisie. It was owned by Wang K'ang-nien, an unscrupulous merchant selling counterfeit medicines and an old hand in corrupting cadres. His dispensary had a special "public relations department" (it should read "corrupting department") endowed with a special budget for "entertainment allowances." This fellow instructed his "public relations director" to "indulge" personnel of state organs in their weaknesses and to "give them what they want." In time he landed 70-80 cadres in the bourgeois sink of corruption. Wang K'ang-nien unashamedly boasted that "Tak'ang is a center for cadres to transform their thoughts." This boast fully betrayed the wolfish ambitions of the bourgeoisie to remake the world in their own image and to restore capitalism. A host of facts show that the bourgeoisie followed a set pattern and took the following steps in corrupting the proletariat: first, they would use flattery.

They would praise the young cadres as "being promising" and the veterans as "having rendered great services to the country." The next step was to bait the victim, providing him with "an eye-opener" to the decadent bourgeois style of life. In summer they would bring you watermelons as a present, and in autumn, crabs. In time they would bring you valuable gifts, stuff money in your pocket, and "fix you up with beautiful women." In the end some people would lose themselves in the fun world of wining and dining and could not quit. What happens next? Well, "once he has a hold on you, you are at his beck and call." Wouldn't this be the entire process of peaceful evolution or "pulling you out" of the revolutionary ranks?

For the personnel of state organs who were so corrupted, each had a different story. As any great revolutionary struggle would inevitably involve people of all kinds and characters, we ended up with both the good and the bad in our ranks. After our nationwide victory, many holdovers from previous military and administrative organs took jobs in the people's government. Some of them did not reform and quickly joined hands with the bourgeoisie. Others, though they had joined the revolution for many years and had even joined the Party organizationally, still filled their heads with many dirty ideas of the exploiting classes, and given a few lessons by the bourgeoisie, would gleefully settle into the cozy bourgeois nest. Still others who held up pretty well under heavy enemy fire during the years of war would in peace time make themselves prisoners of the bourgeoisie and renegades from the proletariat. As Chairman Mao pointed out on the eve of the founding of the PRC: "With victory, the people will be greatful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some communists who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets and will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets." Why did such a fate befall some people? It was mainly because they forgot that "to win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of 10,000 li" and failed to understand that they had the duty to continue the revolution under socialist conditions. In the face of victory, they developed a sense of pride and complacency. They considered themselves architects of that victory, refused to improve themselves any further, and developed a craving for comforts and an aversion to hardship. They lowered their guard against the flattery of the bourgeoisie and lost the battle against a hail of sugar-coated bullets.

Liu Ch'ing-shan and Chang Tzu-shan, responsible persons of the former Tientsin Prefectural CCP Committee who were flushed out at the time were typical of those who suffered defeat from sugar-coated bullets and subsequent degeneration. Both joined the revolution at about the age of 15 as "Little Red Devils." One joined the Party in 1931 and the other, in 1933. During the wave of Kuomintang white terror, the 8-year War of Resistance Against Japan, and the 3-year War of Liberation, they had fought for the Party's cause and the liberation of the people. They were young leading cadres in their early 30's by the time nationwide victory was won. They could have done much more for the Party and the people.

Yet in the 2 years and more of peace after nationwide liberation, they succumbed to the flattery and sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie and betrayed the proletarian revolution and their own revolutionary past. To seek pleasure and to indulge in their private desires, they used their office to steal airport construction funds, relief grain, river control funds, relief grain for cadres' dependents, and local grain grants. They also pocketed some of the wages for civilian laborers and obtained bank loans under false pretenses. All these amounted to a total of 17,160 million yuan (equivalent to 1,716,000 million yuan today). In doing this, they showed disregard for Party discipline and state laws and showed no compassion for the people in need. Their depraved lifestyle and acts of exploitation were no different from those of bourgeois elements. The emergence of the likes of them bears out Lenin's incisive analysis: "On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeoisie. As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it--'they grabbed, let me have a go too,'--indeed, every one of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeoisie." ("Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee") People like Liu Ch'ing-shan and Chang Tzu-shan also looked at the victory over the capitalists in the way the petty proprietors looked at it. They said to themselves: "Let me have a go too." Liu Ch'ing-shan once said: "I risked my life to help win the war, what's wrong with enjoying myself a little now?" His words have a familiar ring, just like the new bourgeoisie elements would declare: "Let me have a go too." Liu Ch'ing-shan and Chang Tzu-shan, following the example of the bourgeoisie, indeed had a good grab from the people. Because they committed unpardonable crimes against the people, they were finally suppressed by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "San Fan" and Wu Fan" movements showed with shocking facts that even within the ranks of Party members and cadres--including some young cadres who came to power only a short while ago--there emerged degenerates and new bourgeois elements. These occurrences during the early years after the founding of the Republic vividly revealed an important characteristic of class struggle under socialist conditions, namely, the overthrown exploiting classes would always resort to all possible means in using a corrupt ideology and style of work to attack the proletariat in an attempt to generate new bourgeois elements from among the working class, Communist Party members and revolutionary cadres and make some who hang the Communist signboard come forward to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. All workers, Communist Party members and cadres who have a keen political consciousness must bear in mind the numerous lessons learned from the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements, from the socialist education movements in cities and rural areas, and from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The historical experience of the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements proves that so long as there still exist the corrupt ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, it will inevitably erode the proletariat and the Communist Party. As Lenin said: "The working class is not severed by a Chinese wall from the old bourgeois society."

"When the old society perishes, you cannot nail the corpse of bourgeois society into a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us." ("Joint Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers, 'peasants,' and Red Army Deputies and the Trade Unions") For instance, how can such ugly phenomena as corruption, waste and bureaucracy also appear in our state organs led by the Communisty Party? This is chiefly because of the erosion and influence wrought by the bourgeoisie through various tricks and channels. Take Liu Ch'ing-shan, for instance. He was originally a hired hand leading a wretched life. Did he not learn from the bourgeoisie its corrupt and dissipated lifestyle and its regard of self-indulgence as the primary goal of life? There were some who were proud of their arduous struggle during the new democratic revolution period, but who, after they had gone to the cities, imitated the bourgeoisie and ridiculed other comrades as being "country bumpkins," vied with one another for "generosity" and "grandeur" and spent money recklessly, as if not to do so would make them look inferior to the bourgeoisie. Were these not manifestations of the corrosion and poisoning by the evil bourgeois habits? Then there were those who, during the war years, shared the weal and woe of and united as one with the people, but who later on learned to become bureaucrats and overlords, claiming special privileges and arrogantly treating others rudely. Were they not contaminated by the Kuomintang style of work? The corpse of the old society disintegrates in our midst and poisons us, and this merits our serious attention. Since we are building socialism on the soil of the old society, we must "completely wash away all filth and poison left to us by the old society," draw a clear line to fundamentally distinguish between the revolutionary features of the proletariat and the corrupt workstyle of the bourgeoisie and retain and carry forward the Party's fine traditions.

The "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements were fierce struggles waged by the Communist Party and the working class under the leadership of Chairman Mao for the socialist cause. They raised the curtain of the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism in the historical stage of socialism. Although we have overthrown imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, yet remnants of the landlord and comprador bourgeois classes still exist, the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie still exist, and vestiges of the old society still exist in various respects. The "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements, the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production, and the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts were all great struggles for the purpose of eliminating these vestiges. But these vestiges are far from being completely swept away and we must continue to do a great amount of work to achieve this goal. Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist society. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." This means that after the system of ownership has been changed, vestiges of the old society still exist. As long as the old ground has not been completely cleared, bourgeois rights still exist, and old traditional ideas and the force of habit still remain in people's minds, capitalism and new bourgeois elements

may still emerge. People all over the country, so long as they conscientiously study Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory, will consciously wage a relentless struggle to eliminate this contagion, plague and ulcer left over for socialism by the old society, and in the process receive a profound socialist education. The "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements were essentially socialist educatiion movements. Ensuing revolutionary movements launched under the leadership of our Party, each of which was deeper than the preceding one, have also been increasingly profound socialist educational movements for the vast numbers of cadres and the masses. To continue to carry out socialist education among the cadres and masses is necessitated by the need to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to combat and prevent revisionism. The more profound socialist education gets, the more favorable to the proletariat and more unfavorable to the bourgeoisie it will prove. As a matter of fact, the victory of each socialist educational movement has invariably dealt a blow to the bourgeois offensive, saved the errant comrades, raised the consciousness of the masses of the people, and continually consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The historical experience since the founding of our country proves that the struggle between corrosion and anti-corrosion constitutes an important aspect of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the historical period of socialism. There are many good comrades in our revolutionary ranks who have maintained the revolutionary traditions, but there are also some who relish bourgeois right, indulge in a life of leisure and comfort, become extravagant and wasteful, holding banquets and giving gifts and causing bourgeois factionalism. All such undesirable tendencies are a reflection of landlord-bourgeois ideas and lifestyles. "The past, when remembered, can serve as a guide to the future." All revolutionary comrades must remember the historical experience of the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" movements. Be they old Party members who joined the Party during the war years or new ones who joined during the great cultural revolution, be they old cadres who have undergone long periods of tempering or new cadres who have assumed leading positions only in recent years, all must conscientiously study the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, sum up historical experience, consciously resist corrosion by bourgeois ideas, oppose the attacks of bourgeois sugar-coated bullets, and unsweringly and untiringly struggle against all undesirable tendencies.

Marx and Engels said in "Communist Manifesto": "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." This plainly tells us that all people who take part in the proletarian revolution should neither hope for nor seek personal gains. Chairman Mao has also frequently reminded us: "Every Communist engaged in government work should set an example of absolute integrity, of freedom from favoritism in making appointments and of hard work for little remuneration. Every Communist working among the masses should be their friend and not a boss over them, an indefatigable teacher and not a bureaucratic politician. At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking

the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, wholehearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect." Our Communist Party members and cadres have only the obligation of taking the lead in making revolution and working for the interests of the people; they have no prerogatives whatsoever detrimental to the interests of the people, such as acting like a bureaucrat or an overlord enjoying special luxuries. Whoever seeks personal gain and goes in for special privileges and harms the interests of the people will inevitably become divorced from the masses and arouse their opposition. Our Party members and cadres should keep the following teaching by Chairman Mao firmly in mind: "Maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and carry on our revolutionary work to the end."

In order to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and study it well, it is necessary for us to study how the proletariat has struggled against the bourgeoisie in our country over the past two decades and more in order to learn the experience and lessons and to do the work that will be necessary in the future. In this way we shall be able to constantly raise our consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism through to the end.

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Consolidate and Develop the Socialist System

- Study "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

by

Yen Feng (燕 枫)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 4, April 1, 1975)

In his article "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," written in celebration of the second anniversary of Soviet rule, the great teacher of the revolution Lenin made a profound analysis of the forms of social economy and the strength of various classes during the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism. He clearly pointed out: "This transition period cannot but be a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and nascent communism."

After overthrowing the bourgeoisie and seizing political power, the proletariat is faced with the important task of "transforming the entire social economy organizationally" and "building socialism on the ruins of capitalism." Under Lenin's leadership, the Soviet government began working on this task immediately after the victory of the October Revolution. On the first day of the dictatorship of the proletariat, namely, November 8, 1917, abolition of private land ownership was declared, and big landowners were expropriated without compensation. Within a few months, nearly all the big capitalists were also expropriated; they included private owners of factories, joint-stock companies, banks, railways, etc. Then socialist transformation was carried out among small farm producers and private businessmen, through such means as organizing various kinds of cooperatives, purchasing of grain by the state to supply the cities, and purchasing of manufactured goods to supply the rural areas. Thus, the proletariat basically held in its own hands the economic lifeline of the state. Lenin fully affirmed these great achievements the proletariat and the revolutionary people had made under the extremely difficult conditions caused by the civil war. At the same time, he clearly pointed out that all these achievements were only "'the first steps' of communism" and the question of who wins, socialism or capitalism, was far from being settled. He said: "The economy in Russia in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat mirrors a two-sided struggle: 1) preliminary measures are taken to promote joint labor according to principles of communism throughout a vast country; and 2) small commodity production still remains and capitalism is reviving on the basis of small commodity production." This shows that inevitably a socialist society that has just emerged from a capitalist society is still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society, and cannot but bear the special features or marks of the social economic structure both under capitalism and communism.

Lenin pointed out that the basic forms of the social economy in Russia at that time were "capitalism, small commodity production, and communism." The basic forces linked with these forms were "the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie (particularly the peasantry) and the proletariat."

Lenin also said clearly that although Russia was an extremely backward, petty bourgeois country and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was bound to have some characteristics different from those in developed capitalist countries, the basic forces and the basic forms of social economy in Russia were the same as in any capitalist country. This reveals a universal truth, namely, during the historical period of socialism, a period of transition from capitalism to communism, the principal contradiction is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the question of who wins, socialism or capitalism. Which side the petty bourgeoisie--particularly the peasantry--takes and where it goes in developing small commodity production are influenced and determined by the struggle between the two classes and the two roads. Therefore, in a historical period, there still exist two possibilities in socialist society, namely, developing toward communism or going back to capitalism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must wholeheartedly develop communist features and restrict capitalist features to insure that communism triumphs over capitalism step by step.

The overthrown exploiting classes will not be reconciled to their defeat. Their reactionary nature and class interests necessarily drive them to desperately oppose socialism and do their utmost to defend and restore capitalism. Lenin said: "The class of exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed, but not destroyed. They still have an international base in the form of international capital, a branch of which they represent. They still retain a part of certain means of production, they still have money, they still have vast social connnections. Just because they have been defeated, their energy of resistance has increased a hundred- and thousand-fold. The 'art' of state, military and economic administration gives them a superiority, and a very great superiority, so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical strength among the population would warrant. The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i.e., the proletariat, has become incomparably more bitter. And it cannot be otherwise in the case of a revolution, if this concept is not replaced (as it is by all the heroes of the Second International) by reformist illusions." This statement by Lenin points out the protracted and serious nature of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads during the historical period of socialism, doing so not only from the aspect of class relations but also from the aspect of economic conditions, not only from the numerical strength of the class of exploiters but also from its counter-revolutionary capabilities, and not only on the basis of the conditions of various classes in the country but also by combining the domestic with the international class situation. It is not only a scientific summing up of the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat gained during the two years after the October Revolution, but is also an intensive analysis of the reality of struggle from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism. It serves as an important guide for us to establish, consolidate and develop the socialist system and prevent capitalist restoration.

The path China has followed since the inception of the socialist revolution period and the actual state of the current struggle between the two classes and the two roads have fully borne out the complete correctness of Lenin's thesis. During the past two decades and more, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we have basically completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and have carried out increasingly intensive socialist revolutions one after another on the political and ideological fronts. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution in particular, we have liquidated the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, smashed their plots for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism, criticized their revisionist line, strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, and worked ceaselessly to block the ways leading to capitalism. We have thus established, consolidated and developed the socialist system. However, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road has not come to an end. Just as Chairman Mao said in 1957: "In China the struggle to consolidate the socialist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail will still take a long historical period," ("Speech at the CCP National Propaganda Work Conference") and "time is needed for our socialist system to become established and consolidated." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") It is therefore imperative to abide by the Party's basic line laid down by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism and to persist in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Speaking of the socialist system, Chairman Mao said recently: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist society. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange by means of money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." Chairman Mao also pointed out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. So if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This important instruction by Chairman Mao clearly points out that remnants of old things exist in new things, that things left over from the old society are still present under our socialist system, and that these things provide the soil which breeds a new bourgeoisie and which tends to restore capitalism, thereby shedding greater light on the way in which to consolidate and develop the socialist system.

After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has been basically completed, there still exists a protracted struggle between socialism and capitalism in the economic sphere. When we say "basically completed," we mean it has not been completed in its entirety and remnants of private ownership still remain. This part of transformation that has not been completed stands in contradiction with and struggles against the socialist system of public ownership. There is still a long way to go before we can fully complete the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, especially the socialist transformation of agriculture. Even if we have fully realized the system of

public ownership, there still exist contradictions between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by working people and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads within the units under two kinds of public ownership. This is because the establishment and consolidation of the socialist system of ownership will surely undergo a long course of repeated struggles, in which bourgeois restoration in certain units and the struggle put up by the proletariat to smash it will occur constantly. Although the ownership of the means of production is the basis of the relations of production and determines people's positions in production, their mutual relationship and forms of distribution of products, yet even after the private ownership of the means of production has been transformed into public ownership, capitalist things still cannot disappear all at once in the relationship between men and in distribution of products. Old ideas in the superstructure will always hamper the consolidation and development of the new economic base. Chairman Mao said: "Remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way." ("Introductory Note to 'A Serious Lesson'") The remnants of old ideas, such as the class concept reflecting bourgeois right, etc., sway people's action, thereby hindering the establishment of a new socialist relationship between one man and another. In respect to distribution of consumer goods, we have already realized the socialist principles "he who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." But this is not yet communism. "So far as distribution of products 'according to labor' is concerned, bourgeois right still holds the dominant position." ("The State and Revolution") If considered from the fact that an equal amount of goods is given for an equal amount of labor, this kind of distribution is equal. However, people differ from one another in actual conditions. Some are physically strong, while others are physically weak, and some have a small family while others have a large one. All this will naturally result in a situation where some people are poor while others are rich. Therefore, this form of distribution is in fact unequal. Although the principle "to each according to his work" still plays its historical role in the period of socialism and cannot be abolished, yet it is no more than a transitional measure and is different in essence from unpaid labor under communism and distribution of articles of consumption according to needs. In the relations of production as a whole, the ownership of the means of production is a major and decisive factor, but human relationships and forms of distribution are not completely negative and passive things, may also react on the system of ownership of the means of production and may even play a major and decisive role under given conditions. A most eloquent proof is that after Khrushchev came into power, the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, pushed a revisionist line and extended and strengthened bourgeois right both in the relations between men and in distribution. The privileged strata ruthlessly seized the fruits of labor of the masses, thereby altering the nature of the ownership of the means of production and restoring capitalism. The revisionist trash, such as "material incentives," "bonuses in command" and seeking a privileged life, pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their like also aimed at extending bourgeois right and creating conditions for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise in a vain attempt to achieve their criminal purpose of restoring capitalism.

Under today's socialist conditions, the commodity system is in harmony with the system of ownership by the whole people and the system of collective ownership by the working people. Nevertheless, the commodity system is still a legacy of the economy of private ownership. Marxist political economy tells us that the bourgeoisie is engendered by commodity production. As long as the commodity system exists, there will be soil which engenders the bourgeoisie. Moreover,owing to the existence of the commodity system, money exists as a medium for exchanges of equal value. Money is used today as a tool for the state of proletarian dictatorship to carry out class struggle, a tool with which to manage socialist production and carry out distribution of products in the service of the socialist economic base. But, as Lenin pointed out, it is also a "remnant of yesterday's exploitation." ("On the Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality") Under certain circumstances, money may still be turned into capital, into a means of exploitation. Before the disappearance of money, "anyone who possesses money has the actual right to exploit." (Ibid) Thus, it contradicts the socialist system of public ownership and so must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our revolutionary cause advances amid struggles against capitalist things left over by the old society. On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic,when dealing with the need to adopt a policy of restricting the private capitalist economy of the national bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Restriction and counter-restriction will be the main form of class struggle within the new democratic state." ("Report to the Second Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China") In the early days of the People's Republic, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, we adopted the policy of restricting private capital while making use of it, consolidated the leading position of the state economy and speedily rehabilitated and developed the national economy. After that, we carried out step by step socialist transformation of the private capital economy and won great victories. Today, more than 20 years have passed, and through earth-shaking changes, China is a country vastly different from what she was before. However, the struggle in the economic field is in essence still a struggle between restriction and counter-restriction. In the past, it was a struggle to limit the development of private capital economy and prevent its disruptive effects. Today it is one to limit the extension of bourgeois rights and prevent the resurrection of capitalism. When we stress restriction, do we mean to do away with freedom? Freedom has a class character. Instead of talking about freedom in the abstract, we must see which class to which freedom belongs. In order to further establish, consolidate and develop the socialist system, it is necessary to restrict the remnants of the old social system and such things as bourgeois right. Such restriction implies progress. For if capitalist things are not restricted, socialism cannot continue to advance, nor can communist elements develop.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The serious problem is education of the peasantry." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") In the struggle to establish, consolidate and develop the socialist system, the proletariat cannot but put the education of the peasantry in an important place. This is because peasants are small commodity producers, and small commodity production forms "an extremely broad and profound capitalist

basis on which capitalism can be preserved and resurrected to engage in a most ruthless struggle with communism." Since agriculture was collectivized, the peasants have taken a decisively significant step on the road toward socialism. But the remnants of the system of private ownership of the means of production still exist, and socialist transformation of agriculture remains a protracted task. The system of collective ownership by the laboring masses has not been raised to the level of the system of ownership by the whole people, and differences still exist between workers and peasants and between city and the country. The peasants have not yet completely freed themselves from the economic situation where they oscillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Certain inherent characteristics of small producers who have lived for hundreds of years in the commodity economy are still retained to varying extents. Particularly, among those well-to-do or relatively well off peasants strong spontaneous capitalist tendencies are still shown. As Chairman Mao put it well: "The tendencies toward capitalism are serious among the well-to-do peasants. Should we slightly slacken our political work among the peasants during the agricultural cooperation movement and thereafter for a long time to come, such tendencies toward capitalism will assume serious proportions." ("Introductory Note to 'It Is Necessary to Resolutely Struggle Against Capitalist Tendencies'") Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that this situation would remain unchanged "for a long time to come" after cooperativization. Therefore, the struggle will still go on for a long time in the countryside and within the collective economy itself, namely, whether to adhere to the socialist orientation or take the capitalist road. In order to consolidate and develop the socialist system, it is necessary for us to unceasingly conduct political and ideological education among the peasants, instil socialist ideas into them, and criticize capitalist tendencies.

Due to the existence of classes and class struggle, due to the existence of bourgeois right, and due to corrosion by bourgeois ideology and the influence of the force of habit of the old society, capitalism, new bourgeois elements and degenerates may still appear under socialist conditions. These new bourgeois elements and degenerates invariably team up with the landlord and capitalist classes which have been overthrown but have not yet been utterly destroyed in mounting a frenzied attack on the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They all constitute the social basis of revisionism. They try by all possible means to look for agents within the Communist Party. People like Lin Piao are the chief representatives of their class interests. The rise of revisionism to power means the rise of the bourgeoisie to power. After coming to power, the Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionist clique changed within a few years the first socialist country of the dictatorship of the proletariat personally founded by Lenin into a social-imperialist state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What a profound lesson!

As for the question of whether or not the proletariat can adhere to socialism, prevent capitalist restoration and carry on the revolutionary cause to the end after it has seized state power, the key lies in whether or not it has a Marxist-Leninist line. If the line is correct, and if

capitalist things are restricted, the socialist cause will continue to win new victories. Otherwise, it would be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to restore capitalism if they came to power. In this work "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Lenin sharply criticized those representatives of the Second International who desperately tried to mitigate, reconcile and blunt the struggle between socialism and capitalism. He pointed out: "They either deny the entire historical period of transition from capitalism to communism or believe that their task is to find the way to reconcile two opposing forces, instead of leading one to struggle against the other." This criticism by Lenin is absolutely applicable to such ringleaders of the revisionist line as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the "theory of the dying out of class struggle," and Lin Piao preached the "theory of productive forces as the decisive factor" and the "doctrine of the mean" peddled by Confucius and Mencius. Both attempted to obliterate the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie,and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, so that they might easily restore capitalism. Like those representatives of the Second International, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have fallen. But we must bear in mind this historical experience, implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line ever more consciously, study the forms and characteristics of the struggle between the two forces, and actively lead the proletariat and the revolutionary people to wage a struggle against the bourgeoisie and capitalism. If we ignore the struggle between the two forces and do not actively lead the proletariat and the revolutionary people to wage a struggle to build, consolidate and develop the socialist system, will we not turn revisionist? This merits our vigilance.

Our socialist cause is a great cause. Marx said: "This socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations." ("The Class Struggle in France 1848-1850") This transit point is one of struggle, during which we must restrict and diminish capitalism and consolidate as well as develop socialism until classes are completely abolished and communism is realized throughout the world.

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An Ideological Weapon for Restricting Bourgeois Right

- Study "Report to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China"

by

Chi Yen (紀 岩)

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To undertake a conscientious study of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory is a task of prime importance for the whole Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country at the present time. In the course of study, we should read once more Chairman Mao's brilliant work "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China." In this report, he made an overall analysis of the new situation in domestic and international class struggles and the changed relationship between the various classes in society after the victory of the new democratic revolution. He pointed out that at home the principal contradiction was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie," and that the proletariat must learn how to wage struggle against the bourgeoisie in political, economic, cultural and other spheres. He laid down the line, principles and policies for carrying out the socialist revolution and for establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. With specific reference to class relations and the economic situation at that time in our country, Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly: It was necessary to adopt a policy of confiscation toward bureaucrat-capital and transfer it to the state so as to "enable the state-owned economy to become the leading sector of the entire national economy"; with regard to those private capitalist elements which were beneficial to the national economy, we must "adopt well-measured and flexible policies for restricting" them in various ways according to specific conditions so that we might utilize, restrict and transform them; as for the large numbers of scattered, backward individual agricultural and handicraft units, they "must be led prudently, step by step and yet actively to develop toward modernization and collectivization." In addition, Chairman Mao pointed out that if we denied that the state-owned economy built on the basis of confiscating bureaucrat-capital was socialist in character, gave up the policy of restricting capitalism and failed to see the necessity of transforming the individual economy, we would commit the Right-deviating mistakes, and that if we believed that private capital could be abolished completely at once and overlooked the protracted nature of the transformation of individual economies, we would commit "Left" mistakes. Today, conscientiously understanding these brilliant ideas enunciated by Chairman Mao is extremely necessary if we are to make clear the question of exercising proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie on the plane of integrating theory with practice, persist in restricting bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and correctly implement our Party's various policies.

Nineteen years ago, our Party led the people throughout the country to proceed in the direction and along the road charted by Chairman Mao in this report and basically completed the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce in accordance with the Party's general line for the transition period, thereby changing the system of private ownership of the means of production to that of socialist public ownership. Through a series of struggles--the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts,the socialist education movements, and especially the great proletarian cultural revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the socialist economic base has become more consolidated with each passing day, and our socialist system has demonstrated its vast superiority. The new society and the old society are indeed two different worlds. However, the socialist society, after all, emerges from the womb of the capitalist society, and in this historical period classes and class struggle still exist. The overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes will invariably dream about recapturing their lost "paradise." The unaccomplished part of the task of carrying out socialist transformation with regard to the ownership of the means of production will have to be completed over a comparatively long period of time. Economically, morally and intellectually, socialist society is "still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges." There still exist the commodity system, distribution according to work and exchange through money as well as the differences between workers and peasants, town and country, manual and mental laborers and bourgeois right continues to exist. In view of this, Chairman Mao pointed out: "China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now, she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. So if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This important instruction of Chairman Mao's provides us with a powerful ideological weapon for further understanding the characteristics of the socialist society. If we see merely the essential differences between the socialist society and the capitalist society without seeing "much the same" between them in certain aspects, it will be impossible for us to persist in exercising an all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, to restrict bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to carry the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism through to the end. Why is it that for a long time some comrades have failed to distinguish right from wrong in line with regard to bourgeois right on questions such as the commodity system, exchange through money, and distribution according to work and have even shown a keen interest in them? Fundamentally, it is because they have not understood in theory and in practice that these are traces of the old society and not communist features, nor have they realized that these constitute an important economic basis for engendering capitalism, revisionism and new bourgeois elements. We can see that the emergence of new bourgeois elements from the workers, Party members or from personnel of state organs is inseparable from the protection and extension of bourgeois right in their own areas and units as well as from their own appreciation and pursuit

of bourgeois right. At the same time, the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes more often than not make use of bourgeois right as a tool for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. Hence, one of the important tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is to restrict that part of bourgeois right that still remains and, through prolonged socialist revolution, create, step by step, conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. Contrary to this, chieftains of the revisionist line such as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have left no stone unturned in consolidating, extending and strengthening bourgeois right, and used it in struggle against the proletariat. Chairman Mao says: "Restriction and counter-restriction will be the main form of class struggle within a new democratic state." The struggle between our Party and the chieftains of the revisionist line over the question of bourgeois right is a struggle between restriction and counter-restriction, an important component part of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines throughout the historical period of socialism.

It is an extremely arduous and complex struggle to restrict bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is meant by restriction is that bourgeois right must be gradually reduced in scope and function and ideological and material conditions actively created for its eventual abolition. But for a considerably long period of time it cannot be abolished. Hence in the struggle to restrict bourgeois right, we must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies, and with the Marxist-Leninist theory as a weapon, make a historical and class analysis of bourgeois right, seeing not only the inevitability of its existence but also the necessity of restricting it. We must study where and how it should be restricted and the extent of its restriction. Unless we make such a concrete analysis, we may commit this or that mistake to the detriment of the great cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Restricting bourgeois right in the field of distribution is an important measure for preventing the emergence of new bourgeois elements and fighting against them. The socialist principles "he who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," which our country enforces at the present stage, are a negation of the system of distribution under which capitalists squeeze out the surplus value of workers. But since laborers differ in their physical strength, cultural and technical standards and the number of dependents they have to support, applying the same yardstick of distribution to laborers with different conditions will necessarily produce factual inequalities. Therefore, as embodied in distribution according to work, "equal right is still in principle bourgeois right." (Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program") This principle of distribution which is realized in the form of wages and which divides people into different grades is bound to lead to scrambling among certain people for personal fame, position and better treatment. This is antithetical to the communist attitude of doing labor on a voluntary basis, without quotas and without consideration for pay. It is precisely for this reason that our Party has repeatedly stressed that, in practicing the principle of "from each according to his ability, and to each according to his work," there is a need to take the Party's basic line as the key link and to

persevere in putting proletarian politics in command. If we depart from this "soul" of proletarian politics, regard "more labor, more pay" as the "motive force" to stimulate the enthusiasm of the masses, and put "bonuses and work points in command," that will certainly lead people onto the evil revisionist road where they "will become so cold-heartedly concerned with their personal gains and losses as to be unwilling to work half an hour more or to receive a penny less than others." Some will even use the authority vested in them to take public property into their private possession and encroach upon the fruit of labor of the masses by hanging the signboard of "revolutionary requirements" and "job requirements" and on various pretexts. If this situation is allowed to develop without restriction, the gap between the rich and the poor among people will keep on widening and even polarization will occur. At this time, a small number of people will turn the money in their hands into capital and engage in criminal activities of exploiting others either by practicing usury or by operating underground factories or by carrying out speculation and profiteering. Once these newly engendered "blood-suckers" rise to power, miserable scenes of the old society in which the vast masses of toilers were oppressed and exploited will appear once again. If we fail to see the serious consequences caused by the development of bourgeois right in distribution and if we extend it willfully instead of properly restricting it, we will commit Right-deviating mistakes. But, on the other hand, if we think that the principle of "distribution according to work" can be abolished right now and that it is no longer necessary to carry out the distribution policy for the rural areas at the present stage, we will commit "Left" mistakes.

Only by restricting bourgeois right in the present commodity system can we prevent the growth and spread of capitalism. In our country commodity production is carried out under the unified leadership of state economic plans and for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the state and the working people. But for commodities, there is likewise involved the contradiction between use value and the value of the commodity itself, the law of value is still operating, and money remains a medium for commodity exchange. If bourgeois right in the commodity system and exchange by means of money is not restricted, it will still give rise to the bourgeoisie and capitalism. When we stress the need to incorporate commodity production and exchange into state plans, the need for the state to enforce unified financial and economic management and supervision, the need to give full scope to the leading role of state commerce and to improve the planned supply and normal circulation of commodities as well as the need to effectively strengthen leadership and control over rural trade fairs, we mean to close the loopholes in the commodity economy that may give rise to capitalism. Lenin said, "Without all-sided state accounting and control of production and distribution of goods, the power of the toilers, the freedom of the toilers, cannot maintain itself, and a return under the yoke of capitalism is inevitable." ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government") The fact is indeed so. If we do not restrict bourgeois right in the commodity system, revisionists and those seriously afflicted by capitalist ideas will, in defiance of state plans, "put profits in command" and practice capitalist management in the departments and units under their control, doing more of those things that give them a big profit and fewer of these things that give them a small profit and refraining

from doing all unprofitable things. This will cause either under-supply or over-supply of certain commodities, bringing about a contradiction between social production and social needs. Some people with capitalist thinking will take advantage of this "gap" between supply and demand and in the name of mutual aid while practicing mutual exploitation in fact, use state and collective funds, equipment and goods without obtaining approval, practice exchange of goods for profit and trade in state materials for profit. In such so-called "cooperation," they will do any dirty thing, such as lining their own pockets by doing damage to the public interest, seeking personnel gains illictly by using their official posts, and engaging in graft, theft and speculation. Some people may even bring the capitalist principles of commodity exchange into the political life of the Party and state, turning some relations between men into "bare relations of interests" and "harsh 'exchange by cash'." If a unit goes this far, socialism will turn into capitalism and the bourgeoisie will exercise dictatorship. If we do not persevere in adequately restricting the bourgeois right in the commodity system, we will commit Right-deviating opportunist mistakes. However, we must never negate the historical role of the commodity economy in socialist society because there exists in the commodity economy the possibility of engendering capitalism. Nor must we, because of this,advocate the immediate abolition of commodity production and exchange, of the small private plots farmed by commune members and their household sideline production, and of trade at fairs under state leadership. As a matter of fact, those who had put forward such "Left" slogans as "abolition of commodity" were precisely people like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, and Ch'en Po-ta who had stuck to the reactionary program for capitalist restoration.

To gradually narrow the three major differences is to create one of the conditions in which a bourgeoisie will not be engendered again. The antagonism between workers and peasants, town and country, and mental and manual laborers has been a product of the age-old system of private ownership, an indispensable condition for the reactionary ruling classes to oppress and exploit the toiling people and to consolidate and develop the private economy. In socialist society, since the private ownership of the means of production has been converted into public ownership, the differences between workers and peasants, town and country and manual and mental laborers have been greatly reduced in contrast to the rivalry between town and country in the old society. But it is still a fact that exists objectively that industry is more advanced than agriculture, cities are more modernized than the countryside, and mental laborers are in a more advantageous position than manual laborers. The idea of bourgeois right that reflects these three major differences is still corrupting people's souls. Some people stress industry and slight agriculture; some invariably hanker after city life and are reluctant to go to the countryside; and some consider themselves superior to others once they have acquired culture and techniques, show contempt for labor and the laboring people, and think that they are entitled to a special position and treatment. These are precisely manifestations of the influence of the idea of bourgeois right. Thus, gradually reducing and eventually eliminating the differences between workers and peasants, town and country and manual and mental laborers is an important task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao and

the Party Central Committee have proposed that the entire Party should go in for agriculture and that industry and all other trades and occupations should go all out to aid agriculture so as to gradually achieve agricultural modernization. They have called on the vast numbers of cadres and workers, peasants, commercial workers, students and soldiers to take the May 7 road, with cadres participating in collective productive labor and educated youth going to mountain and rural areas. They have initiated socialist revolution in education, health, literature and art and other spheres so as to turn the laboring people into intellectuals and vice versa. All these are revolutionary measures taken to gradually reduce the three major differences. To fulfill these tasks calls for prolonged and arduous efforts on our part. To extend without limit rather than to reduce these three major differences will inevitably cause disruption of the worker-peasant alliance and serious antagonism between town and countryside, depriving the working class of its reliable ally; it will inevitably engender a handful of bourgeois spiritual aristocrats who will monopolize such things as culture and education in society and proceed to seek economic and political privileges. By then, the situation that prevailed in the old days will appear again--a situation in which industry exploits agriculture, cities plunder the rural areas, and mental laborers govern the manual laborers. If we do not look at the problem in this light, we will commit Right-deviating mistakes. Nevertheless, we should also understand that the elimination of the three major differences can only be gradual and requires a long period of time, calling for the creation of both material and moral conditions. It is impossible to solve this problem at one go. Any sentiment that is divorced from reality should be prevented.

In the 25 years since the founding of the People's Republic, our Party has waged very acute and fierce struggles against revisionist chieftains such as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao over the question of bourgeois right. It is beneficial for us to seriously recall and sum up the historical experience of this period. Before 1956, the struggle was focused on the question of whether to retain or abolish the system of private ownership of the means of production. At that time, Liu Shao-ch'i advanced the slogan "Exploitation is a merit" and "Consolidate the system of new democracy," saying such nonsense as "hiring of labor and individual farming should be allowed to take their natural course" and "should not be restricted". Lin Piao displayed public notices in favor of "four big freedoms" in the areas under his leadership. This program and slogans of theirs were directly opposed to the spirit of Chairman Mao's report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee. This shows their mortal fear of and hostility to the socialist revolution. What they upheld was the bourgeois creed "private property is sacred and inviolable." Under Chairman Mao's leadership and under the guidance of the Party's general line for the transition period, we waged a series of struggles, basically but not completely abolishing the bourgeois right with respect to the system of ownership of the means of production in 1956. Through the rectification movement and the anti-rightist struggle in 1957, the broad masses of people broke down superstitions, emancipated their minds, and began a powerful attack on all decadent ideologies and other unsuitable segments of the superstructure. Chairman Mao highly praised this revolutionary initiative of the masses, and in the article "Introducing a Cooperative," he said happily: "The communist spirit is growing apace throughout the country." "Never before have the masses of the people been

so inspired, so militant and so daring as at present." He concentrated the revolutionary demands of the masses and clearly suggested the need to get rid of the idea of bourgeois right. However, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang clung to bourgeois right, being dictated by their landlord-bourgeois counter-revolutionary instinct. The big polemics which appeared in the press at that time over whether to restrict or safeguard bourgeois right was a vital aspect of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line. After the broad masses of the people took revolutionary actions to break the "bourgeois conventions," Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang changed their tactics, appeared as elements of the "Left," and agitated for immediate abolition of commodity production and the law of value. In 1962, they restored their original features and tossed out such sinister stuff as San Tzu I Pao and "profit in command" in a vain attempt to restore the bourgeois right that had already been abolished in respect to the system of ownership. Their criminal schemes were crushed only after repeated trials of strength all the way down to the proletarian cultural revolution. But, as representatives of both the new and the old bourgeoisie, Lin Piao and his gang soon sprang out to frantically oppose our Party's various revolutionary measures taken to curb bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They made malicious attacks on a large number of new socialist things that ousted bourgeois right, talking such nonsense as that for revolutionary cadres to take the May 7 road was tantamount to "unemployment in a disguised form," for educated young people to go to the countryside was "equivalent to labor reform in a disguised form," and so on and so forth. One may see clearly from their plan for counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, "Outline of 'Project 571'," that the reason why they desperately defended and extended bourgeois right was that they vainly attempted to use this soil to foster a group of new bourgeois elements as a "basic force" for counter-revolutionary restoration activities. Now, although the Lin Piao anti-Party clique has fallen long ago, the social base of this clique has not yet disappeared. New representatives of bourgeois elements like Lin Piao may still arise. Therefore, it is necessary for us communists and revolutionary cadres, particularly leading cadres at various levels, to follow Chairman Mao's teaching "read more Marxist-Leninist works," seriously study and have a good grasp of the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to give scientific and theoretical explanations to the economic, political, cultural and various other problems in socialist society. Only in this way can we, basing ourselves on the Party's line and policies, prevent and overcome various erroneous tendencies and carry the great struggle to restrict bourgeois right and dig away the soil that breeds the bourgeoisie through to the end.

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Bring All Positive Factors into Play

by

Kao Lo (高洛)

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In the brilliant work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Chairman Mao tells us: "Bring all positive factors into play, unite with everyone that can be united with, and do everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones so as to serve the great cause of building a socialist society." Seriously implementing this instruction is an important guarantee for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. One of the important reasons why we have been able to effectively develop the great might of the proletarian dictatorship over the last 25 years is that "we have united with all the people that can be united with and established general rule of the proletariat over a small number of bourgeois elements." The successful carrying out of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has created favorable conditions for further arousing socialist positive factors. At the present time, in order to strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and implement the task of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship right through every grassroots unit, we must give greater scope to the leading role of the working class, consolidate and develop the worker-peasant alliance, unite with other toiling masses and the vast numbers of intellectuals, bring into play all positive factors that can be brought into play, and unite with all forces that can be united with.

To bring all positive factors into play and to unite with everyone that can be united with so as to serve the revolutionary cause is an important point of departure for the proletarian policies and tactics. During the various historical periods of the Chinese revolution under his leadership, Chairman Mao, with a view to enabling us to unite with real friends and attack real enemies, stressed in the strongest terms the need to mobilize all positive factors and unite with all forces that can be united. Proceeding from this premise, he laid down a correct line, policies and tactics for our Party. During the period of the new democratic revolution, he formulated the policy of "developing progressive forces, winning over intermediate forces, and isolating stubborn anti-communist forces," a basic policy for handling the inter-relations of various classes in the country, and called on us to mobilize the masses boldly, expand the people's forces and unite with all people that could be united with throughout the country so as to struggle for building a bright new China. After the Chinese proletariat seized power and established its dictatorship, Chairman Mao dealt incisively with the two different types of contradictions--those between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people, and particularly stressed the need to correctly handle the contradictions among the people in order to unite with the people of all nationalities the country over, to unite with all forces that could be united with, to win continually

victories in the great struggle for the proletariat to vanquish the bourgeoisie and for socialism to triumph over capitalism, to develop our socialist economy and culture, consolidate the new system of proletarian dictatorship and build up a new country for ourselves. When imposing a dictatorship over the reactionaries, we carried out a policy of combining punishment with leniency and combining labor reform with ideological education, thereby effectively dividing and disintegrating the enemy camp. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking, our Party was able, during various historical periods of the revolution, to unite with over 95 percent of the cadres and the masses in a joint struggle for the triumph of the revolutionary cause.

On the question of bringing the positive factors of various quarters into play and of uniting with forces that can be united with, the various areas and units have gained a great deal of good experience after going through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and studying Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of the theory of proletarian dictatorship and the relevant teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." To fully arouse all positive factors and to unite with everyone that can be united with requires a great amount of work to be done, and the key to this rests with resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. As shown by the experiences of many areas and units, where Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is properly implemented and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is successful, the socialist zeal of the masses will soar, the positive factors of all quarters are brought into play, and the excellent situation is developed further. Wherever and whenever people depart from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they also basically depart from the socialist orientation and go against the fundamental interests of the masses, the socialist zeal of the masses is suppressed and the positive factors of all quarters cannot be aroused. In the socialist period the main contradiction at home is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the basic line Chairman Mao has formulated for our Party for this historical stage is the only correct line for resolving this contradiction. When we persevere in the Party's basic line, we will certainly be able to overcome the difficulties and hazards lying on the road of advance, defeat the enemies at home and abroad and win still greater victories. It is imperative for us to read and study seriously, continue to raise our theoretical level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, grasp the ideological weapon of proletarian dictatorship, heighten our consciousness of the need to carry out the Party's basic line, and consciously proceed from the general situation of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in determining what should be supported and what should be opposed and what should be done and what should not be done. This is extremely important to strengthening revolutionary unity and bringing all positive factors into play.

In order to bring all positive factors into play and unite with all forces that can be united with, it is necessary to correctly distinguish between and handle the two different types of contradictions--those between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people. Chairman Mao points out: "At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the classes, strata and social groups which favor, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people." This is the basic yardstick for separating two different types of contradictions. According to this yardstick, the class enemies we must attack constitute only a small handful, while the overwhelming majority of people come within the category of the people and are people we should rely on and unite with. There are also various contradictions among the masses of the people. Toward these contradictions, it is necessary, in accordance with the policy of unity--criticism and self-criticism--unity, to proceed from the desire for unity, resolve the contradictions through criticism or struggle, and arrive at a new unity on a new basis. As regards a small number of bad elements who have infiltrated into the ranks of the masses, it is necessary, on the basis of correctly discerning and handling the two different types of contradictions and of raising the consciousness of the masses, to allow the masses to expose the wicked elements by themselves. This will help us to deal concentrated blows to the handful of class enemies steadily, accurately and harshly and to strengthen the revolutionary unity among the masses. As for those comrades who have made mistakes, it is necessary to proceed from the great goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism to do more work in turning negative factors into positive ones. This is a vital aspect of correctly handling the contradictions among the people. Negative and positive factors exist in comparison with each other and may transform into each other under given conditions. One of these conditions is to enforce the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and help the errant comrades to know the right and wrong in line. Since the errant comrades vary in their background and understanding, it is necessary to conduct more analyses and study and to do more ideological and political work so as to apply the proper medicine to a particular disease and help these comrades in the right way. On their part, the errant comrades must make an effort to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, accept the criticism and supervision of the masses, make clear the social, historical and ideological causes of their mistakes, resolutely correct their mistakes and consciously transform their world outlook in the practice of revolutionary struggle.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Typical examples must be grasped well." "One-third of the work in an area must be grasped well first." In order to bring all positive factors into play and to unite with all forces that can be united with, it is also necessary to do a good job of the work at key units. For the development of things, balance is relative and imbalance is absolute. Under the favorable situation, when most of the areas and units have advanced in massive strides, there are always a few

units which have advanced slowly and have not fulfilled the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in an all-round manner. Poor results of revolution and production in these units are not only inimical to the development of their own positive factors but also interfere with the stability and unity in the areas where they are located. On the other hand, when the work of key units is done successfully, it may inspire the masses and influence the work of a whole area, the experience gained may be used as a guide to the general situation, and the results may be achieved whereby a breakthrough at one point may push the whole area forward. Our leadership at various levels should select those units with the utmost representative character and relatively great influence for carrying out profound investigations and study of the past and present conditions of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, grasp the principal problems and work in a down-to-earth manner. Chairman Mao points out: "When we go to a unit to find out the situation, we must find out the entire process of the movement: how it began, how it had developed and how it is going on now, what the masses have done and what the leadership has done, what contradictions and struggle have occurred and how these contradictions have changed as well as how people's understanding has developed, so that we may find out the laws from all these." This is the most basic method for us to grasp typical examples. As the experiences of many backward units which have since become advanced prove, it will not be difficult to solve problems if we do things in accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's. We should also see that in backward units the vast numbers of cadres and masses warmly support Chairman Mao's revolutionary line while showing an inveterate hatred for Lin Piao's revisionist line and counter-revolutionary crimes, that they uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat and oppose capitalist restoration. This is the essence, the main current. As long as we are good at doing propaganda among the masses, organizing and arming them with the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat and are good at translating the Party's line, principles and policies into the conscious action of the masses, we can enable backward units to change their features rapidly and leap into the ranks of the advanced. Reverses may appear in the work of key units, but that doesn't matter. Granted that we persist in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and are good at summing up the experience and lessons from reverses, work can be improved.

Experience also tells us that it is a matter of vital importance to look at the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius correctly and to continue to raise our consciousness of continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship if we are to fully arouse and develop the positive factors of all quarters. During the great cultural revolution and the great struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers, peasants and soldiers, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, have played the role as the main force, while the vast numbers of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have forged ahead bravely in the storm of struggle. But there are also some comrades who lack the necessary understanding of the laws of class struggle under the proletarian dictatorship,

and ideologically they fail to catch up with the developing revolutionary situation, thereby placing themselves in a negative and passive situation. This problem, basically speaking, is one of world outlook. Chairman Mao points out: "There are two kinds of world outlook and methodology: the proletarian world outlook and methodology, and the bourgeois world outlook and methodology." Observing problems with the bourgeois world outlook and methodology, one would distort objective things and even put them upside down and fail to discern the orientation of revolutionary struggle. It is only when one looks at a problem with proletarian dialectical materialism and historical materialism that one can correctly recognize the objective laws of class struggle in the historical period of socialism. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius are great struggles--in which hundreds of millions of people have taken part--to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. In these struggles, on what side should we stand? We can only stand on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, on the side of the masses of the people. With a correct stand, we will not be concerned with personal gains and losses, favors and rancors but will put right the relationship between an individual and the general situation of the revolution, will be able to see clearly the essence and main current of the revolutionary movement and support revolutionary new things with an abundancy of zeal, and will be able to correctly sum up experience and lessons and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our words and deeds should be geared to the goal of taking the socialist road, realizing Party leadership and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. All words and deeds that depart from this goal are wrong.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Unite the whole Party and unite with all forces that be united with at home and abroad so as to strive to build a great socialist China." Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Party can, with the largeness of mind of the proletariat, unite with everyone that can be united with and bring all positive factors into play so as to win new victories in socialist revolution and construction. No force can stop the triumphant advance of the hundreds of millions of people who are closely united as one.

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Overcome the Ideological Resistance of the Bourgeoisie

by

Chuang Ning (庄 宁)

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An important task in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is to combat ideological corrosion by the bourgeoisie and to carry forward proletarian ideology and the fine style of work. This is also an important task in strengthening Party building.

Led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and nurtured by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, most of our Party cadres devote themselves to the revolution and the people, work hard and vigorously, repress their own desires for the public interest, and serve the people wholeheartedly. However, due to corrosion by bourgeois ideology and due to the existence of bourgeois right, the commodity system and so forth, bourgeois egoism still rots in our society and poisons our life. "Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Some people who have been more seriously poisoned by bourgeois ideology do not pay attention to revolutionary principles in work; they do not proceed from the proletarian Party spirit and the Party's policies, but rely on "personal connections" and "personal favors." If you give me "some favor," I will return the same to you. They regard the powers given by the Party and the people to serve the people as capital for seeking personal "gains." This is an outstanding manifestation of the bourgeois style of life.

Such an evil trend is a trace of the old society existing in socialist society, a reflection of the fact that the capitalist principle of commodity exchange has penetrated our political life and even our Party life. It is also a manifestation of the deepest and strongest ideological resistance of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "It is man's social being that determines his thinking." In a capitalist society where the commodity economy is predominant, profit-grabbing egoism dominates all the activities of the bourgeoisie. Under the capitalist system, capitalist production is aimed at extracting surplus value from the workers, seeking superprofits, and carrying out "open, shameless, direct and naked exploitation" of the proletariat. In commodity exchange, the principle of the bourgeoisie is to make profit. If there is no profit to be made, the bourgeoisie would rather destroy its commodities than exchange them with others. Revealing most incisively the profit-grabbing class nature of the bourgeoisie, Engels said: "For the bourgeoisie, there is nothing which does not exist for money in the world. Even they themselves are no exception, because they live for money. Apart from making money, they know of no

other source of happiness, and apart from financial losses, they know of no other pain." Whether or not there is a profit to be made is the only yardstick used by the bourgeoisie in judging things, appraising gains and losses, and assessing advantages and disadvantages. This profit-grabbing capitalist principle of commodity exchange has permeated every aspect of capitalist society. Be they political, economic or even family relations, all have become relations of commodity transactions dominated by exchange through money. From here flow like a flood the ugly acts of the exploiting classes such as mutual deception, mutual exploitation and mutual flattery, corruption and bribery, and speculation. In "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels clearly pointed out: In capitalist society, "there is no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.'" In capitalist society nothing can be done without such "cash payment." "Money makes the world go round" is a precise description of such exchange relations.

In our country, the system of exploitation of man by man has already been shattered, and the system of private ownership of the means of production has been changed into the socialist system of ownership by the whole people and that of collective ownership. Socialist commodity production is not aimed at making profit, but at satisfying the increasing needs of the socialist state and the people. However, as Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Because there exist two kinds of socialist ownership, it is still necessary to practice the commodity system, exchange of commodities must still be conducted by means of money, and the law of value still plays a certain role in production and exchange. These are much the same as in the old society. And old ideas reflecting capitalist private ownership have not vanished with the collapse of the old system, and may still influence a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. The capitalist principle of commodity exchange, the vulgar philosophy of the bourgeoisie and its decadent styles of work will find their way into the ranks of the proletariat to disrupt the socialist political and economic relations, and against this we must maintain our guard.

The renegade and traitor Lin Piao used this capitalist relationship of commodity transactions to serve his counter-revolutionary revisionist line--a line which represented the hopes of the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes for restoration and which also reflected the demand of the greedy new bourgeois elements to usurp power. To achieve their counter-revolutionary purpose, like cunning merchants, they resorted to intrigues and conspiracies, engaged in splittest activities, peddled sinister bourgeois ideas, and used certain decadent capitalist fallacies to poison people's minds, such as "congratulation and prosperity," "may your capital be increased by ten thousand times," "having more private desires is something natural," etc. In Lin Piao's eyes, all relations among people are no more than relations between sellers and buyers. Therefore, he offered "inducements--official posts, emoluments, favors." This means that if you were willing to work for his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, he would give you a high official post with a high emolument. Some of the principal members of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique were, from the very outset, new bourgeois elements who wanted to have a go in

counter-revolutionary conspiratorial activities and formed a gang and exploited each other for these purposes. The farce staged by these counter-revolutionaries fully shows that both the new and old bourgeoisie have tried hard to introduce the capitalist principle of commodity exchange into the political sphere of socialism in order to find a breach for capitalist restoration. However, the socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system, and this is an objective law independent of man's will. Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and his bourgeois egoism can find little market under the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. His "official posts, emoluments and favors" strategem, apart from buying off renegades from the proletariat who yearned for official posts and whose hearts were filled with desires, could not save him from doom.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." Each looks at problems, does his work, and handles the relations between one man and another according to a certain class stand. What the bourgeoisie and its agents in our Party have done cannot be separated from their reactionary class nature which puts personal interests above all else. The proletariat also proceeds from its class position in determining all its words and actions.

The proletariat is the greatest revolutionary class in human history, and its historical mission is to destroy the system of exploitation of man by man, eliminate classes, and achieve communism. It must emancipate not only itself but also the whole of mankind. If it cannot emancipate the whole of mankind, it cannot achieve its own final emancipation. That is why, as Chairman Mao pointed out to us 30 years ago, "the supreme test of the words and deeds of a communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people". The comrades of our Communist Party and those in the revolutionary ranks led by the Communist Party have used this supreme test to regulate and guide their words and actions. Whether in the years of revolutionary war or during the period of socialist revolution, the fine sons and daughters of our Party have struggled hard and sacrificed themselves bravely for the revolutionary cause of the Party and for the highest interests of the people. Contributing their all, they have never thought about personal interests. During the 25,000-*li* Long March, they climbed snow-covered mountains and marched through grasslands. They ate tree bark, roots and even their leather belts. Which revolutionary fighter had ever thought about what benefit he would receive later? In the numerous stupendous and splendid struggles in the War of Resistance Against Japan and in the War of Liberation, hundreds of thousands of revolutionary fighters advanced heroically, taking the place of those who fell before them. Which one of them had ever thought of any benefit be might derive later? During the Liaohsi campaign, for the liberation of the people, the soldiers shed their blood and fought courageously. Even when they had to starve, they would not take an apple from the masses. Highly praising this political spirit displayed by the proletarian revolutionary fighters, Chairman Mao said: "Chinchow is a place that grows apples. At the time of the Liaohsi campaign it was autumn, and the people had a lot of apples in their homes. Our fighters did not take any. I was deeply moved when I read

about the news. Here the fighters were conscious that not to eat the apples was noble, to eat them would be ignoble, for the apples belonged to the people." What a noble revolutionary spirit! This is a sharp criticism of the bourgeois style displayed by those who make use of the power in their hands to seek personal profit much in the same way as a capitalist merchant. Each and every communist or revolutionary cadre must judge his own words and deeds in the light of this supreme test to see whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people. Things that conform with this supreme test should be done wholeheartedly and well; otherwise, they should not be done at all. One must also judge the words and deeds of others on this basis: Whether they are truly logical and conform with this supreme test. If they are, they should be welcomed and supported, otherwise they must be resisted and opposed. Only by so doing can we have a correct criterion for doing things and handling problems. Only by so doing can we break down the shackles of narrow interests of an individual and a small group and do our revolutionary work well.

We must maintain a high vigilance against corrosion by bourgeois ideology or it will seize every opportunity to undermine our socialist revolution and construction. For instance, our socialist enterprises are built on the basis of the system of public ownership of the means of production. Under the guidance of state planning and within the scope permitted by established policies, enterprises may coordinate and cooperate with one another and exchange what they have for what they do not have. In carrying out socialist coordination and cooperation in a big way, enterprises in various areas and sectors should take the whole situation into account and do the difficult tasks themselves while leaving the easy ones for others. This is exactly a manifestation of the superiority of the socialist planned economy as well as an objective requirement of socialist construction. However, those who are afflicted with bourgeois thinking tend to replace the socialist relations of coordination and cooperation with the capitalist relations of commodity transactions in an attempt to reap profits for individuals or small groups. Their motto is this: If you do me a favor, I will give you something. Such unlawful acts have nothing in common with socialist coordination and cooperation. As for those individuals who practice fraud and speculation in a big way to reap huge profits in the name of "coordination and cooperation," they have in fact taken a stand that is completely antagonistic to the socialist economy. If we allow the capitalist principle of commodity exchange to find its way into our business planning, our enterprises would deal with state plans with the attitude of "putting profit in command," turn to profitable operations and shun unprofitable ones, with adverse effect on the socialist planned economy. They would use "material incentives" to encourage the so-called "enthusiasm" and abolish the principle of putting proletarian politics in command, thereby embarking on the revisionist road. This is the case with some enterprises which are socialist in name but whose leadership is actually not in the hands of Marxists and the masses of workers. The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. Socialist enterprises must put proletarian politics in command, while criticizing and resisting all sorts of capitalist ideas and work styles.

Our cadres, whether of high or low rank, shoulder definite responsibilities at different work posts. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Who gives us power? The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the laboring masses comprising over 90 percent of the population." We should use the power given by the people to serve the people wholeheartedly, to work vigorously and arduously for the people and promote the well-being of the overwhelming majority of the people in China and in the whole world. We should not regard the powers entrusted to us by the people as prerogatives or abuse them in doing our work and handling problems. We must not barter away principles. In particular, the leading cadres, who represent the masses in administrating the revolutionary cause in an area, a department or a unit and who have great responsibilities, must place stricter demands on themselves, resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, exemplarily carry out the Party's principles and policies, and uphold revolutionary principles.

The socialist cause is advancing in the struggle to overcome "the contagion, plague and ulcer left over for socialism by capitalism." As we have the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and millions upon millions of people armed with Marxism, capitalist relations of commodity transactions cannot spread freely in our socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. As long as we persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold the Party's basic line and policies, pay attention to restricting bourgeois right under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and deeepen criticism of revisionism, capitalist ideas, and capitalist tendencies, we will certainly be able to neutralize the corrosion by the capitalist principle of commodity exchange, overcome the ideological resistance of the bourgeoisie, and push our socialist revolution and construction forward.

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Criticize Capitalism, Build Socialism

- Investigation report on Hsiangli Production Brigade, Yüt'ai Hsien, Shantung

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 4, April 1, 1975)

Agricultural production has registered rapid progress in Hsiangli brigade, Yüt'ai hsien, Shantung province, through the criticism of Lin Piao and rectification of workstyle and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, through firmly grasping the struggle between the two classes and two roads and through criticizing capitalism and building socialism. In 1973 per-mow output of grain rose to 1,014 catties from 478 catties in 1972, reaching the target set in the "Program" /for Agricultural Development/, the target set for regions south of the Yangtze River and the target of over one thousand catties in a single year. Although 1974 experienced the worst drought in the last 40 years, per-mow output still exceeded one thousand catties. The tremendous changes that have taken place in this brigade are solid fruit of the criticism of capitalism and the great effort made to build socialism.

How has this brigade conducted its criticism of capitalism?

Firmly Remember the Party's Basic Line, Consciously Criticize Capitalism

Hsiangli brigade is located in an alluvial plain of the Yellow River region beside Nanyang Lake. It has fertile soil and adequate water resources. In 1958 the cadres and the masses here had already set their sights on turning what was a low-lying waterlogged area into a granary, and later drew up a plan for achieving the grain output south of the Yangtze River in three years. However, years passed but they were unable to bring their ideal and plan to fruition. Production did not rise as expected. Why?

In the winter of 1972, the brigade Party branch, with the help of the propaganda team from the hsien Party committee, made a serious study of the Party's basic line and arrived at a deep understanding of Chairman Mao's great teaching "In this historical period of socialism there still exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there still exists the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." It looked back over its past militant course. In 1958, taking the characteristics of the local area into account, the brigade converted part of the dry land into paddy fields and grew paddy crops experimentally, achieving a per-mow output of grain of 400 catties. Later, triggered by the evil wind of San Tzu I Pao fanned up by Liu Shao-ch'i, capitalism spread like a flood. The class enemies said: Now was the time "when eight immortals cross the sea, each demonstrating his own magic." By this they meant that every man must think of himself and find his own way out. Some brigade cadres took the lead in abandoning farming in favor of trade and engaged in speculative activities. In the name of undertaking collective subsidiary production, they even used several hundred yuan of public funds and several hundred catties of bean oil and bean cakes belonging to the

collective as bait to win over people's support. When some of the masses rose to oppose this, they were told: "You can't catch white doves without little red beans." As capitalism spread, there was serious corruption, thievery, extravagance and waste, harming the socialist economy to a considerable degree and causing grain production to fall drastically. During the socialist education movement in 1964, new bourgeois elements who sneaked into the leading squad were ferreted out and the sabotage activities of the class enemies were suppressed. Meanwhile, a large tract of farmland was converted to paddy crops, boosting the per-mow output of grain to 539 catties. Later, when the brigade Party branch slackened the class struggle for a time, some people stirred up the ill wind of "restoring the old farming system." Grain output per mow dropped again. Recalling these events deeply impressed the cadres and the masses, making them aware that whether or not production features could be changed was decided by the line. Whenever we bear in mind the Party's basic line and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, production will advance; whenever we allow ourselves to be muddle-headed on this question and slacken dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, production will stop rising or will even fall.

After the causes were found, the cadres and the masses then seriously studied Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, resolutely implemented the Party's basic line, persevered in a tireless struggle against the class enemies, and consciously criticized the spontaneous tendencies toward capitalism. In the past, suffering from the sabotage of class enemies and capitalist influence, this brigade was often unable to correctly handle the three-way relationship between the state, the collective and the individual. It sometimes was unable to fulfill the requisitioning task of the state or left little for public reserves. In 1973, after a bumper wheat crop was gathered, the brigade Party branch, with these problems in mind, organized the cadres and the masses to seriously study Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program," criticize the reactionary viewpoint of Lassallean opportunism on the question of distribution, and criticize the reactionary fallacy of "distributing all and eating all" spread by class enemies. They deeply recognized that if all the fruits of labor were distributed, it would be impossible to consolidate and expand the collective economy or to render any aid to socialist revolution and socialist construction. Since then they have firmly acted on the principle "on the question of distribution we must give all-round consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual." Every year they have been able to fulfill the requisitioning task fairly well, and public reserves have increased gradually.

Cadres Adjust Thinking and Lead in Criticizing Capitalism

Cadres lead the masses; wherever they go, they will be followed by the masses. If cadres do not have a correct ideological line, they cannot lead the masses in criticizing capitalism and building socialism.

Before 1972, this brigade, like the others, started a movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. But as it had not mastered Tachai's basic experience, it did not dare to criticize and struggle against capitalism. For instance, some cadres, while they themselves turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to individual sideline production, allowed their families to take part in it; and some cadres, corrupted by the class enemies, adopted an indifferent attitude toward acts detrimental to the collective economy. As cadres became more and more timid in criticizing capitalism, it spread more and more boldly. As the masses complained: "When the cadres' thinking is not right, capitalism runs amuck."

Mass criticism severely jolted the cadres of the brigade. In the course of the criticism of Lin Piao and rectification of workstyle, the brigade Party branch, pointing to the fact that some cadres did not dare to criticize capitalism, carried out an open-door rectification campaign, with special emphasis on solving the question of what line the leading squad should take and what direction it should persist in. This enabled everyone to realize that the attitude of "opening one eye and closing the other" toward capitalist activities was in effect to hand capitalism a "road permit" and give it the "green light". In the wheat season that year, the No. 8 production team intended to sell grain at a high price and use the proceeds to buy diesel engine parts. It sought the approval of the Party branch secretary. The secretary felt that this was an evil capitalist practice and called a meeting of cadres and Party and League members of the whole brigade to discuss and analyze the essence and harm of selling grain at a high price. Besides raising everyone's understanding, the meeting also convinced the cadres and commune members of No. 8 team not to sell their grain at a high price. In another instance, when putting into force the system under which "hogs are raised by households, with delivery of hog manure guaranteed by the team," the No. 6 production team laid down the amount of manure for each hog. However, the cousin of the production team leader, engaging in speculation, delivered less manure while demanding more work points. The team leader firmly stopped him from doing this, in spite of their relationship. He not only refused to give his cousin more work points than were his due but also criticized him for harboring such thoughts. In practice, subsequently, everyone realized that once the ideological line of the leading squad was right and principle was upheld, spontaneous capitalist tendencies among commune members would be overcome easily and the sabotage activities of class enemies might be promptly exposed and crushed effectively.

Mobilize and Rely on the Masses in Criticizing Capitalism

Hsiangli brigade is located in a relatively large market town. Before the liberation many of the inhabitants here earned a living as hawkers. But since the liberation most people have actively taken up collective productive labor. Still there are a small number of people who are keen on doing small business and who have even privately developed more than 30 sideline occupations such as weaving bamboowares, selling noodles, slaughtering sheep and dogs, selling tea, hair dressing, and tailoring. Such spontaneous capitalist tendencies have seriously affected the consolidation and development of the collective economy.

In 1973, through education on the Party's basic line, the brigade Party branch recognized that if the masses were not mobilized and depended on in waging a struggle against the spontaneous capitalist forces of small producers, the socialist collective economy would degenerate and capitalism might be restored in the countryside. Hence, together with the masses, it unfolded education comparing the two societies and the two roads, evolving around the basic issue of whether to take the socialist road or the capitalist road and using typical cases. As the bitter life under capitalism was recounted, the happy life under socialism was glowingly revealed. A commune member, in order to eke out a living in the old society, had worked in sheep and dog slaughter houses, had been a rabbit hunter, and had been a kawker selling fried dumplings. Indeed, he knew "all the 18 kinds of martial arts." Yet he could only afford liquid meals and wore worn cotton-padded coats. After the liberation he had enough to eat and wear and had decent shelter. Although his life was getting better and better, he still did some small business sometimes. After the education on recounting the bitter past and thinking of the present happiness, he said emotionally: During the past several years private gain has made me blind and capitalism has captured my heart. From now on I'll take an active part in collective productive labor and take the socialist road. Today, he is looking after the trees, the nursery and fish ponds of the collective and is doing well.

Such education has helped raise the consciousness of class and line struggles on the part of the cadres and the masses, causing everyone of them to consciously criticize and resist capitalism. Capitalism is now like a rat running across a street, with everyone shouting: Kill it. During the wheat harvest in 1973, some people suggested: Let's slaughter several hogs to improve the livelihood of the commune members in this exceptionally busy season. Disapproving this idea, the Party branch and the masses summed up the lessons of 1972: During the wheat harvest that year, the brigade slaughtered ten hogs to "comfort" the commune members. But this material stimulation not only prolonged the time of wheat harvest but also delayed the transplanting of the paddy rice. By summing up this experience and lessons and developing revolutionary mass criticism, it was known made to everyone that: By trumpeting "money in command" and "material incentives," Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their like merely attempted to corrupt the laboring people with the bourgeois world outlook and restore capitalism. To farm for the revolution, we must insist on putting proletarian politics in command and consciously resist corrosion by the bourgeoisie.

Carry Out Party's Policies, Strike at Abettors Inciting Capitalism

To criticize capitalist tendencies, it is necessary to strictly differentiate and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions, to deal concentrated blows at the sabotage activities of a small handful of class enemies steadily, accurately and harshly, and to educate the broad masses of people.

Previously, this brigade also struggled against the class enemies and criticized capitalism. But because it somtimes failed to grasp the Party's policies correctly, it was unable to properly differentiate

the two types of contradictions and could easily thwart the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. Having recognized this problem and when criticizing capitalist tendencies, they gave attention to an analysis of the prevailing circumstances, grasped the policies and correctly handled the two different types of contradictions. In 1973, a dozen young people of No. 6 production team were prepared to go outside their area to find work to earn some cash. When this came to the knowledge of the team cadres, they convened a meeting to criticize and struggle against these young people. But the brigade Party branch stepped in and helped the cadres of this team to find out the reason why the young people wanted to go to other places. The truth struck home: A landlord element who previously fled the village to avoid labor reform had written a letter to these young people instigating them to move out. Thereupon, the brigade sent a person to take this fugitive landlord back. While criticizing and struggling against him, it also taught the cadres and the masses to realize that: The class enemy is like a fly attracted to dirt or a snake attracted to a hole and would always make use of a "gap" in people's thinking to fan up capitalist tendencies. Some people were taken in as a result. For this reason, when criticizing capitalism, this brigade has always directed the spearhead of attack at a small handful of class enemies engaged in sabotage activities and dealt heavy blows to the abettors behind the scenes. As for spontaneous capitalist tendencies and bourgeois ideas among the cadres and the masses and some mistakes made in business operations for the collective economy, these were settled principally by raising consciousness through study, by recollection of the past and comparison between the old and the new, by persuasion and education, by criticism and self-criticism.

Over the past several years this brigade has never ceased to criticize capitalism and has thus hardened the determination of the cadres and masses to take the socialist road. This has generated much enthusiasm for building socialism in a big way and renewed people's spiritual outlook. Last winter, they revised their plans for the building of canals, fields, roads and forests. With all people, men and women, young and old, going to the battlefield, the battle for harnessing water and improving the soil was in full swing. Braving the wind and snow and the icy cold, they fought continuously through the winter and spring. They dug or repaired 125 trunk and branch canals, built or expanded more than 160 water conservation projects, and completed earth work amounting to more than 75,000 cubic meters, equivalent to 1.3 time the total amount of earth work done in the previous eight years put together. Today, rain water is drained off through the ditches and water for the fields is supplied from the canals. All the fields have been turned into fields with stable and high yields. They have taken another encouraging step on the road of learning from Tachai in agriculture.

Investigation Team of CCP Yüt'ai
Hsien Committee

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Go Back to the Countryside, Continue the Revolution

by

the Whole Group of Demobilized Fighters of 8th Company of a Certain Unit attached to PLA Peking Units

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 4, April 1, 1975)

After a year of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the recent study of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, we have profoundly realized that for demobilized PLA fighters to return to the communes where they have come from, to go back to the countryside to continue the revolution is of practical significance in restricting bourgeois right and gradually reducing the three major differences. In view of the needs of the revolution, we are about to leave our unit and head for new fighting posts in socialist construction. Resolutely answering the call of the Party, we will return to the rural areas to contribute our share to the building of a new socialist countryside.

Lenin said: "Clearly, in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, not enough to abolish their rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and mental workers. This requires a very long period of time. In order to achieve this an enormous step forward must be taken in developing the productive forces; it is necessary to overcome the resistance (frequently passive, which is particularly stubborn and particularly difficult to overcome) of the numerous survivals of small production; it is necessary to overcome the enormous force of habit and conservatism which are connected with these survivals." Chairman Mao also pointed out recently: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Both Lenin's and Chairman Mao's instructions have further clarified the way for us to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are revolutionary fighters who have been nurtured and brought up under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and by Mao Tsetung Thought. During our term of service with the army, what we have thought of and done have all been aimed at defending the dictatorship of the proletariat and fighting against the subversive and disruptive activities of the class enemies at home and abroad. After leaving the army, we are determined to further develop this spirit, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, dedicate ourselves to work in this vast world of the countryside, and strive to be promoters for the restriction of bourgeois right and reduction of the three major differences.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the whole Party and the people of the whole country are seriously carrying out the policy of "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor" and developing in depth the mass movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture." Agricultural production in our country has registered a big leap. However, the present level of our agricultural production is still not high and still cannot meet the demands imposed by the rapid development of the socialist construction of the state. Differences still exist between industry and agriculture and between town and country. To gradually reduce these differences under the dictatorship of the proletariat and develop agricultural production at a faster rate, it is necessary for us to consciously adhere to the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, implement the correct line and policies set by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and work harder and with more human and material resources in the sphere of class and production struggles. Under these circumstances, when we--a group of young fighters--return to the countryside, we will reinforce the agricultural front and do something good.

Many of us grew up in the countryside from childhood so we have had a better understanding of the actual conditions of class struggle in the rural areas. And after studying Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory, we have further seen that although socialist transformation has in the main been completed in respect to the system of ownership of the means of production and the system of collective ownership by the laboring people has been established in our countryside, yet the inherent characteristics of small peasant production and the remnants of the idea of the small peasant economy are still present and the spontaneous tendencies toward capitalism in the rural areas invariably reveal themselves stubbornly. During our social surveys conducted in the rural areas in the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we had seen or heard that people in some places went in for subsidiary production on a private basis or else engaged in capitalist activities by hoisting the banner of "for the collective," and that some people even went so far as to give up agriculture in favor of trade and engaged in speculation to the detriment of the socialist economic base. Facts show that the struggle between the two roads in the rural areas is protracted and sometimes may become very acute. To keep to the socialist orientation in the countryside, it is necessary to take the Party's basic line as the key link, to develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, penetrating and sustained manner, to make a success of the revolution in the superstructure, to criticize capitalist tendencies, and to continue to raise the socialist consciousness of the vast numbers of poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members. For the past several years we have been tempered in the great school of Mao Tsetung Thought--the army, and particularly for the past year in the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. We have raised our level in different degrees in respect to political thinking and military skills. We are convinced that when we return to the countryside, so long as we firmly follow the correct line and policies Chairman Mao has formulated for us and unite and fight with the poor and lower-middle peasants under the leadership of local Party organizations, we will certainly be able to play our part in adhering to the socialist road, in making a success of class struggle

in the ideological sphere, in criticizing capitalist tendencies, in strengthening militia building, and in implementing the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through every grassroots unit in the rural areas.

Chairman Mao points out: "Remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system always remain in people's minds for long time, and they will not give way easily." We realize that it is not an easy but a very stupendous and complex task to struggle against the remnants of the old system and to make a complete rupture with the old traditional concepts. This is not only due to the corrosive and disruptive activities by a small handful of class enemies but also due to encirclement by and the influence of old ideas and force of old habits in society. When we wrote to our commune and our families expressing our determination to go back to the countryside, most local Party organizations, relatives and friends wrote back to us in support of our revolutionary action. However, there were some relatives who in their letters emphasized the hardships in the countryside, saying: "Going back to the rural areas to till the land after you have been soldiers for five or six years won't bring any grace to your relatives and friends." There were also some relatives and friends who took the initiative to write to us expressing their willingness to help us find a job in the city. In short, they did not want us to return to the countryside and tried by various means to keep us in the city. In society, too, some people continuously spread the erroneous view that "after you have become a soldier and joined the Party, it is quite logical for you to find a job in the city." If one looks at these views from the bourgeois individualist stand, one would feel they are rather sensible and would waver and become a captive of the forces of old ideas and old habits. But if one looks at them from the stand of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people, one would see clearly that these views are completely mistaken.

Why do some people say that having been with the army for a number of years, we should not return to the countryside but should enter a city and work in a factory? After studying the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, we understand that these views, in the final analysis, are entertained only by those who belittle the countryside, put personal interests first, influence and corrupt the younger generation with the idea of bourgeois right, and prevent us from continuing the revolution. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao had tried to seduce the young people with the offer of "official posts, emoluments, favors" and "wages," and in doing so, his criminal aim was to extend that part of inequality brought about by bourgeois right, to enlarge the differences between town and country and between workers and peasants, to cause polarization, to foster a new aristocratic stratum to work for him in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. Against this we must maintain a high level of vigilance, and we must never be cheated. In capitalist society there is a gulf between town and country and serious antagonism also exists between industry and agriculture. In the cities those parasitic lords, ladies and pampered sons and daughters do not treat the poor and lower-middle peasants as human beings at all.

They slander the peasants as "country bumpkins" and "clods." The bourgeois scholars also ludicrously describe farm labor as "simple labor." But in socialist society our state is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. The workers and peasants are masters of the new society and share the same interests. People in cities and countryside alike actively contribute their strength to the building of socialism. The relations between workers and peasants and between town and country are relations of mutual assistance and promotion, and not antagonistic relations. As for the differences existing between the two, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee have led and are leading us to adopt correct principles, policies and measures to reduce these differences step by step. The idea that one who has become a soldier should say good bye to the countryside and stay in the city is obviously incompatible with the demands of the Party and with the requirements of the developing revolutionary situation.

At present, rural conditions are generally harder than those in the cities. But it is precisely for this reason that there is a greater need for us revolutionary fighters to change them. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the older generation of revolutionaries worked wholeheartedly for the liberation of the Chinese people during the war years. They did not hesitate to shed their blood and were not concerned with personal gains and losses, positions and treatment; they were utterly responsible toward their work and were warm and sincere toward the people. The army and the people were solidly united for one single goal--the liberation of the proletariat and the whole of mankind. After the liberation, many of our comrades have continued to display this precious revolutionary tradition. In the rural areas, the vast numbers of poor and lower-middle peasants derive their happiness from hard work and look upon enduring hardships as something glorious. Their battle to transform heaven and earth has brought about radical changes in the rural features. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai brigade, persisting in the Party's basic line and fighting against heaven and earth and the class enemies, turned a poor and backward mountain area into a socialist new countryside. Tempered in the melting pot--the army--over the past years, we should all the more set higher demands on ourselves, learn from those comrades who have battled in the rural areas for a long time, go to the difficult places to make revolution and contribute our all to the Party. As long as we carry forward "the zeal, revolutionary enthusiasm and death-defying spirit" displayed by our forerunners "during the period of revolutionary war," we shall certainly be able to overcome all difficulties and build a booming socialist new countryside on a land watered with the blood of revolutionary martyrs.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must exert our efforts in the direction of our grand goal. Those who lose sight of this grand goal are no communists. However, those who relax their present efforts are no communists either." We must use our feet to complete the long journey of ten thousand li. A communist society will not drop from the skies; it can only be built by the practical action of each and every revolutionary fighter guided by the Party's correct line. Some people, while paying lip service to the gradual reduction and eventual abolition of the three major differences, somehow feel that: since this is a task that will be protracted and require the efforts of several generations, and since I

personally can do but little, I had better let others do it. Such ideas should not be possessed by a revolutionary.
We should use our hands to change the relatively backward features of the rural areas, gradually reduce the three major differences, and ultimately realize the historical tasks of the proletariat. Such is the glorious duty we should discharge.

When we go to the first line of agricultural production, we will have taken only a new step in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are resolved, in the practice of struggle in the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside, to make a serious effort to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, learn well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and together with the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants march along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to the end.

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Rectify the Style of Work in an Open-Door Manner, Unite with the Majority

by

Party Branch of Ch'enchuang Production Brigade Wei Hsien, Hopei

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 4, April 1, 1975)

Our Ch'enchuang brigade has five production teams with 139 households, and possesses relatively good natural conditions. But for many years in the past, our brigade, which could only produce a little over 200 catties of grain per mow, was a well-known backward brigade throughout the hsien. This was due to the interference of the revisionist line espoused by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and the failure of the brigade leading group to adjust its ideological and political line. The class enemies took the opportunity to carry out sabotage activities giving rise to capitalist tendencies and impairing the collective economy.

The outlook of Ch'enchuang, however, has since undergone profound changes through the reorganization of the brigade leadership during the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and after the Party branch led the masses to study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. Armed with the theoretical weapon of proletarian dictatorship they put up a determined struggle against the class enemies and repudiated capitalist tendencies and the ideology of the exploiting classes. In 1974, the cadres and masses, going all out for socialism, sank eleven deep wells through their own efforts in only 10 months--exceeding the total number of wells sunk in the past 18 years. In one year alone they planted more than 50,000 trees and swiftly raised the number of hogs from 13 to more than 300 head. Though 1974 was marked by serious droughts, per-mow grain production more than doubled that of 1973, thus crossing the "Yellow River." But the most profound change of all was in the spiritual outlook of men. Be they cadres or commune members, all are taking the path to socialism with ever firmer steps. The spirit of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is soaring higher and higher.

What has brought such swift changes in the outlook of our brigade which had been lagging far behind the others for such a long time? As we see it, the most important reason for this lies in the fact that we have carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and further implemented the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in our production brigade.

In the past, we had tried to find out the causes of the backward state of our brigade. But some comrades either blamed it on the masses being "backward" and on little support from above or claimed that the natural conditions were unfavorable. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we seriously studied the Party's basic line for the historical stage of socialism and the statements of Marx, Lenin and

Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat. By combining what we had learned with the actual struggles between the two classes and two roads in our brigade, we came to realize that Ch'enchuang's backwardness was, above all, due to the failure of the brigade leadership to firmly grasp class struggle and practice the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party's basic line tells us that throughout the entire historical stage of socialism, the main contradiction that faces the countryside is always the question of whether to take the socialist or the capitalist road. But owing to our lack of a sense of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for a long time we failed to grasp this principal contradiction and therefore failed to use the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to guide the action of the Party branch or lead the masses in fighting against the class enemies and capitalism. Chairman Mao points out: "If socialism does not prevail in the rural areas, capitalism certainly will." The fact is exactly so. When we relaxed our efforts in class struggle, the class enemies would woo and corrupt the cadres with small favors, giving them gifts, inviting them to dinners and introducing girls to them in a vain attempt to usurp the leadership of the production teams and of the brigade. Making use of the spontaneous capitalist tendencies among some of the well-to-do peasants, they stirred up the evil wind of individual farming and instigated some people to give up their farm work and go in for business, speculation and profiteering in an endeavor to undermine the socialist collective economy. The real facts of class struggle have shown us that in order to carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in our brigade and to persistently follow the socialist road, we must first of all adjust the ideological and political line of the brigade leading group and turn the Party branch into a command post that can direct the mass struggle against the class enemies. So, under the leadership of the higher Party committee, we mobilized the masses to launch an open-door campaign to rectify our thoughts and deeds and carried out ideological and organizational adjustments. We concentrated on solving the following three problems:

First, we taught the leading members of the Party branch to look at matters from the class struggle viewpoint, to thoroughly criticize the landlord-bourgeois theory of "human nature" spread by Lin Piao, and to draw a clear line of distinction with the reactionary clannish concept advocated by the class enemies. Most people here share the same surname, Ch'en, hence the brigade Ch'enchuang. So, the class enemies did their best to spread the absurd idea that "everyone in Ch'enchuang shares the same surname; they have the same ancestors and are taking the same path. Therefore they belong to the same family." This was an attempt to replace the class struggle viewpoint with the reactionary clannish concept and the theory of human nature so as to cover up their capitalists activities. At that time, some members of the Party branch committee not only failed to recognize this but even tried to stop the cadres and the masses from rising up to fight the wicked elements. We then organized the Party branch leading members to visit the poor and lower-middle peasants and to conduct investigations into the past and current conditions of the class struggle in Ch'enchuang. This led everyone to recognize the fact that relatives or no relatives, we should distinguish people through class analysis. In the past, when the blood-sucking landlords and capitalists were exploiting and oppressing the laboring people, they never regarded the laboring people as "members of the same family." Today, a small handful

of class enemies are trying vainly to revive capitalism in order to make us suffer again. We must never allow ourselves to be taken in by the reactionary patriarchal concept. We must not believe in their utter nonsense. We should exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over them. The Party branch, having clarified this problem, further educated the masses to define distinctions regarding the clan concept.

Second, the Party branch leading members were taught to firmly uphold the Marxist philosophy of struggle and to criticize the "doctrine of the mean" advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius. Under all circumstances a Communist must take a clear stand and stick to principle. He must carry on an unrelenting struggle against statements and actions against the interests of the Party and the people. He must oppose capitalism and revisionism and the ideologies of all reactionary and decadent classes. Only thus can he continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Peddling the Confucian "doctrine of the mean," Lin Piao spread the idea that "two persons can be enemies as well as friends" with the wicked aim of making us abandon the dictatorship over the landlord and bourgeois classes and to stop our struggle against the activities of the class enemies in restoring capitalism. A committee member of our Party branch, corrupted by bourgeois ideology, gradually lost his revolutionary will, afraid to grasp class struggle and to fight against ill trends and habits: all he did was to avoid offending people. Once he even issued a certificate to a profiteer and turned on the "green light" for capitalist activities. The Party branch, through an analysis of this incident and by criticizing and educating this comrade, helped everyone to realize that if one should compromise in the fierce struggle between the two classes and two roads, one would slither into the slough of revisionism. To build socialism, we must fight capitalism. Through such education, the Party branch conspicuously enhanced its role as a fighting fortress.

Third, the Party branch leading members were urged to raise their consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to carry forward the revolutionary spirit of hard work and arduous struggle. Chairman Mao points out: "The Communist Party is a party that serves the interests of the nation and the people, and has no interests whatsoever of its own to serve." Communists must have vigor and a firm revolutionary will. They must constantly bear in mind the fighting goals of the Party, and the interests of the Party and the people. They must struggle against ideas of stagnation and indifference to progress. If they don't do so but have the "half-way revolution" ideas and always think of themselves first in doing everything, they will drop from the ranks and lose their way, and will not deserve the name of Communist. There were some Party members and cadres in our brigade who, having failed to reform their world outlook thoroughly, still retained the remnants of petty producers' ideas and devoted themselves to "improving" the life of their own families. To solve this problem, we organized the Party branch leading members to visit the graves of the revolutionary martyrs of our village who lost their lives during the Anti-Japan and Liberation Wars. There everyone recalled the heroic deeds of the revolutionary martyrs who laid down their lives for the revolution and discussed ways of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat

to prevent the restoration of capitalism. As the discussion went on, everyone became more and more inspired and fired with greater revolutionary zeal and ardor. They repeatedly studied and grasped the teaching of Chairman Mao: "The Party organization should be a vigorous vanguard organization composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat and capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemies." They were resolved to seriously study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, strive hard to remold their world outlook, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, follow Chairman Mao and the Party, and devote their all their lives to the revolutionary cause.

In order to insure the fulfillment of the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots level, apart from solving the problem of the leading group, we must resolutely rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants and unite with other commune members. Out of the 139 households in our brigade, 120 are poor and lower-middle peasant households. Cruelly oppressed and exploited in the old society, they have boundless love for the new society and are the staunchest supporters of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. That is why they are so resolute in the struggle against the class enemies trying to restore capitalism, and why they severely criticize the capitalist tendencies among certain cadres. This is the mainstream. With this in mind, the Party branch has fully mobilized the masses and resolutely united with the majority of the commune members in struggle against capitalism and to persist in socialism. The brigade set up an evening political school and study classes and organized a contingent of theorists to launch penetratingly revolutionary mass criticisms, arming the masses of peasants with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. By recalling the past and contrasting it with the present, and through heart-to-heart discussions, reasoning and debates, it has united and educated the masses, isolated a small handful of class enemies and formed a mass encirclement and suppression against capitalist tendencies.

In the struggle against capitalist tendencies, we must strictly differentiate and correctly handle the two different kinds of contradictions and correctly master Party policies. Chairman Mao says: "The fundamental task of political work is to constantly propagate socialist ideas among the masses of peasants and criticize capitalist tendencies." In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, we carried out careful and persistent political and ideological education among the broad masses of the commune members, including those who had spontaneous capitalist tendencies. Influenced and corrupted by the class enemies who spread such ideas as "make a fast buck by doing business," a commune member once left his farm job and became actively engaged in small business in outside areas. We visited him in his home many times and did a lot of persuasion and education on him. At first, he didn't recognize his mistakes, but thought that purchasing grain from the brigade with his own money was a contribution to the brigade. He just couldn't see the point. So, we got together with him and studied some basic viewpoints from the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. We helped him see that he had committed the serious mistake of taking the capitalist road when he stopped participating in the building of social wealth through doing collective productive labor and instead took up business to make a personal fortune in violation of state policies. Through careful and patient persuasive education, this

commune member finally saw his mistake. Convinced, he admitted: "I earn my money by taking the wrong road away from socialism. The commune members earn their work points by sweating for socialism. To buy the things of the collective with such money is actually to undermine socialism. The more money I make, the greater my mistake." At a general meeting of commune members, he threw the basket he had used for peddling to the ground and with great emotion expressed his determination to break away from capitalism! The masses applauded warmly. Since then, he has actively joined in collective productive labor and won the praise of commune members.

In accordance with the principle of correctly differentiating and handling the two different kinds of contradictions, we have followed the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient" and adopted the formula of "unity--criticism and self-criticism--unity" in helping and educating those among the cadres and masses who had taken part in capitalist activities at the instigation of the class enemies or influenced by bourgeois ideas. This way, we further strengthened the consciousness of the masses and cadres in rejecting capitalist tendencies and united with the majority of them. The Party branch has held a member of mass gatherings to criticize and expose the crimes of a small handful of class enemies who had started the ill winds of capitalism, and imposed dictatorship on them. This has contributed to the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our brigade and promoted the rapid development of revolution and production.

It is through studying and implementing the Party's basic line and through building socialism and fighting capitalism that our Party branch has increased its strength and vigor. All Party members and cadres are required to serve the people wholeheartedly, avoid seeking special privileges under any pretext, stop acting like high and mighty officials, must not attend dinners or accept gifts or listen to flattery or give favors. They must do everything according to principle. They must take the lead in participating in collective productive labor instead of playing "boss." This change in the thinking of Party members and cadres has further promoted the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses. Everyone says: Socialism comes from work, not from waiting. We must continue to oppose Rightist tendencies and conservative ideas, work harder and produce more than 1,000 catties of grain per mow in 1975. We have already won preliminary victories in our struggle, but more formidable and glorious tasks still lie ahead. We must read and study seriously, persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat with greater conscientious efforts and advance along the path toward socialism.

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Advance in the Struggle Against Corruption

- Investigation report on Chungwenmen No. 2 Hotel, Peking Municipality

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 4, April 1, 1975)

The Chungwenmen No. 2 Hotel is a newly built medium-sized hotel. Of the 51 employees of this hotel, 35 are educated young people who have recently been employed. Is it necessary to attach special importance to the ideological education of these young people? In the early days of its establishment, the management of the Hotel was divided on this question. Soon, an incident educated them all. A young employee, eager for material enjoyment, became a good friend of a profiteer staying in the hotel, eating and drinking with him, resulting in moral degeneration and then political reaction. The Party branch has deeply realized that the hotel is not only a place where people come and go, but also a battlefield of class struggle. It is true that workers, peasants and soldiers stay in hotels for the purpose of doing revolutionary work, but it is also true that a handful of bad elements can sneak into the hotels to do evil things and utilize these hotels to engage in illegal activities, which may corrode the hotel employees. Furthermore, since the hotel guests come from different places and from different trades and professions, there is a tremendous flow of people in the hotel trade and the ideas and style of the bourgeoisie can be easily brought in any time. Therefore, unless we uphold the Party's basic line, grasp firmly the struggle between the two different classes and the two different ideologies and give prominence to ideological education, it is impossible to train a contingent of revolutionized staff and workers or guarantee the socialist orientation of our enterprises. Having drawn the lesson and analyzed the characteristics of class struggle in the hotel, the hotel Party branch has educated the staff and workers, particularly the young employees, to combat corrosion, while establishing as well as improving some rules and regulations, thus turning the hotel into a strong base for resisting corrosion by bourgeois ideas.

For the past 2 years the hotel's staff and workers have firmly resisted and struggled against persons with ulterior motives who come with offers of gifts or services in exchange for room privileges. They have many times rejected invitations from certain travellers to dinner, or the offer of theater tickets and ball game tickets and of service in buying bicycles and special local products for them and other material inducements. On the eve of last year's National Day the hotel came to know with surprise that some 300 catties of Tientsin pears had been sent to it by a procurement clerk from another area who had stayed at the hotel as a guest. He did this for the obvious purpose of securing privileges should he stay at the hotel another time. He informed the hotel that all it had to pay for the pears was the local price, which was 10 cents per catty. The pears had already arrived at the railway station, but opinions differed as to whether the pears should be accepted. Some were of the opinion that the hotel should accept them by paying the "quoted price." But others opposed this, pointing out that the man was offering this small favor to ingratiate himself and to get even bigger favors in return. Seeing this as a typical case, the Party branch aroused the masses to discuss the matter. The discussion ended in a unanimous understanding. They held that, since a socialist hotel belongs to the people and we hotel clerks are servants of the

people, we must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and not cater our service to certain individuals or small groups. In order to do our work well we must persist in this principle. If we accept small favors from guests, if we run counter to principle by granting privileges to guests who do not conform with the procedures regarding hotel guests, then we are promoting our own private interests under the guise of serving the public or, in other words, we are making deals at the expense of policy. As a consequence, we ourselves will become corroded by bourgeois ideas and the bourgeois style of work. Not only that, but after some time we ourselves will be taken advantage of by the class enemies and our hotel will turn into a base and shelter for them to carry out illegal activities. Thus, all the 300 catties of pears were sent back.

The hotel workers make it a practice to emulate Chang Szu-te /a soldier cited in Mao's work "Serve the People"/ by displaying the spirit of fully dedicating themselves to the people and enthusiastically serving the hotel guests. It is also the frequent practice of many guests to present gifts to the hotel workers out of gratitude for the latter's service. Do the hotel workers accept these gifts? No, they don't, for they see in these gifts, though given with good intentions, a manifestation of old traditions and old habits. One guest had come to Peking for treatment of some illness. During his stay at the hotel the hotel workers took good care of him and helped him. Before he left the hotel after recovering from his illness, this guest on several occasions said that he wanted to buy a dress for a clerk's child. But the clerk declined the offer politely and courteously. He told the guest: It is true that hotel workers in the old society did receive tips. But I am a servant of the people. It is my bounden duty to see to it that, through my work, I convey the concern of the Party and Chairman Mao and the warmth of socialist society to the workers, peasants and soldiers so that they will reach the very depths of their soul. To accept gifts from others is tantamount to turning the work entrusted to me by the Party and the people into a means to pursue my own personal profit. This is nothing more than a manifestation of the ideas of the bourgeoisie. The clerk's words educated the guest. He said that he would learn from him and would henceforth work harder to grasp revolution and promote production.

Occasionally articles were left behind in the hotel by travelers in a hurry. When they involved small cash or small articles, the travelers rarely came back for them. How to handle these things? The hotel workers studied the noble proletarian spirit of the fighters Chairman Mao commended during the Liaohsi campaign, who observed discipline and never took a single apple from the masses, displaying the PLA's fine style of work of never taking anything from the masses and setting strict rules for themselves. In 1974 they found altogether 28 wrist watches, 1,187 yuan in cash and grain tickets for 1,720 catties left behind by travelers. All these were returned to the rightful owners by various means. Small cash amounting to even one or two cents and grain tickets belonging to travelers they couldn't locate, were put together and turned over to the state. In one year they turned over to the state grain tickets for 111 catties and 28.78 yuan in cash. They said: "Although the amounts are small, they are still highly corrosive if not turned over to the state. Some people involved in corruption and theft often started from such small acts of negligence."

At places like hotels, the old traditional ideas that "waiting on others is something lowly" invariably affect some of the working staff. They often hear people influenced by the idea of bourgeois right say that men are ranked in several categories and belong to different social strata. Some young people, influenced by this idea, do not like their job, thinking that waiting on others has no future and is degrading. Realizing that it is impossible to give good service to workers, peasants and soldiers without correctly handling the socialist catering trade, the hotel Party branch organized the young workers to study the relevant works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and led them to criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line and repudiate the fallacies of "studying in order to be officials" and "those who excel in learning can be officials." Old workers were asked to recall their past miseries and to compare their lives before and after liberation. Young workers were helped to learn to distinguish a socialist from a capitalist hotel, to link hotel work with the lofty goals of the Chinese revolution and world revolution, and to link their own personal ideals with the Party cause. The study and criticism helped the young workers understand that Lin Piao and his ilk and the landlords and the bourgeoisie intended to corrode them with the idea of bourgeois right and were trying wildly to cultivate and recruit a number of new bourgeois elements to betray the interests of the proletariat; that anything they do should be for the purpose of serving the people; that serving the people should be judged only by its quality and not by its high or low position in society; that a socialist hotel should not be viewed by the old standard; and that the relationship between hotel workers and guests should not be viewed by the bourgeois standard of social positions. They proudly said: "Cleaning, washing and scrubbing and other hotel work serve revolutionary needs and are indispensable to the socialist cause." Once, a guest asked a young worker how much money he was making and why he didn't work in factory. He replied: "The Party assigned me to work in the hotel for the sake of revolution and not for making money. If nobody wants to work in hotels, will you have any place to stay in Peking?"

The hotel staff also noted that many worker-peasant-soldier travelers make it a practice to study works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao or read newspapers whenever they are free, but that some guests read old novels or loaf around and idle away their time. They hold that a socialist hotel is not only a place serving travelers, but also a place for propagating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They decided to work together with the guests in making their stay at the hotel serve new socialist thinking and style of work. To do this, they regularly propagate Party policies at the hotel while organizing guests to watch television, listen to radio broadcasts and study the important directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Without interfering with the guests' work and rest, they sometimes also organize meetings and discussions for them to recall their past bitterness and recount today's sweetness. They also collect articles thrown away by guests and hold anti-waste exhibitions. As a result of doing all this, travelers not only enjoy a comfortable stay at the hotel but are also profoundly educated politically. They have praised the hotel, saying: "The No. 2 Hotel is really a fine place. It has a high ideological standard. All major things are firmly grasped there and its service is excellent."

To guard against corrosion by bourgeois ideas, the hotel Party branch regularly educates the working staff to carry forward the glorious tradition of arduous struggle, diligence and frugality. In implementing Chairman Mao's directive on "managing shops with diligence and thrift," they handle all minor repairs by themselves. Last year, they originally intended to ask a construction department to repaint the hotel rooms. This would cost more than 3,400 yuan and close the hotel for three months. Then they decided to do it by their own efforts and learn the skill through practice. As a result, the job was done in 12 days by 12 persons at a cost of only 400 yuan or so. They not only saved 3,000 yuan for the state, but also had an additional income of more than 20,000 yuan for the state since business did not stop. At the same time they also pay attention to saving and conserving little bits of material. For example, wornout bedspreads are used for re-upholstering mattresses and old cloth is used for cushion stuffing. Old blankets are remade into new ones, damaged locks are fixed and keys are duplicated by relying on their own efforts. By so doing, they have saved over 300 yuan. In addition, by turning over for recycling waste paper and broken bottles thrown away by travelers, they received an extra income of 320 yuan. Thus, not only have they conserved state expenses and increased state revenues but, more importantly, they have also fostered the fine style of arduous struggle and the spirit of diligence and frugality among the working staff. Their ability to resist corrosion by bourgeois ideas has been strengthened.

Managing a socialist hotel well and guarding against corrosion by bourgeois ideas depends mainly on the line and on the cadres. The leading members of the hotel Party branch consistently maintain high vigilance against corrosion by bourgeois ideas and take the initiative in curbing them. They insist on turning down all gifts and all dinner invitations. Once, a leading member of a certain unit from another area held a succulent glazed duck dinner in a restaurant, and three times in succession drove a car to the hotel to invite the cadres to attend the dinner. They turned him down. Then, a traveler, in the name of "soliciting opinions," invited them to dinner. They also refused. They say that gifts and lavish dinners represent the bourgeois life style. An old saying goes: "When you eat the food of others, your mouth becomes soft; when you take the things of others, your hands become soft." If cadres are affected by the bourgeois vulgar style, they cannot uphold the revolutionary principles of the proletariat nor lead the working staff in adhering to the socialist orientation. A Party branch committee member and revolutionary committee vice chairman said: "A change in the leading group will change the hotel into a revisionist enterprise which, despite its socialist signboard, is full of capitalist stuff. Our cadres' power is given by the people and they should by no means use the socialist enterprise as a tool for making personal profits." The cadres personally take the lead in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and Party policies and in taking part in collective productive labor like everybody else without having any privilege. They are cadres and waiters at the same time and are praised by the masses as "leaders of revolution."

In the past 2 years or so this hotel, while ceaselessly fighting against corrosion by bourgeois ideas, has continued to improve its service. New men and new deeds have continued to appear. Led by the hotel Party branch and tempered in the anti-corrosion struggle and in practical work, the young workers have become a backbone force full of vigor in the hotel. Among the 35 young workers, 9 have become Party members and 5 have become CYL members in less than a year and a half. Not only have they resisted bourgeois corrosion but, with the support of the worker-peasant-soldier travelers, have also dealt a blow to a handful of bad elements who had wormed their way into the hotel. In their recent study of Chairman Mao's important directive on theory and of the quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, they have more profoundly realized that in socialist society there is still soil for breeding new bourgeois elements, that the struggle for and against corrosion between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is a protracted and acute one, and that only by studying well the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the Party's basic line, and waging protracted struggle against the bourgeoisie can they gradually create "conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise." They have pledged to fight more consciously for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Investigation Team of Propaganda Unit of
CCP Peking Municipal Committee

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Do a Good and Earnest Job of Publishing Research Periodicals on Natural Science

by

K'o Wen (柯 文)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 4, April 1, 1975)

In recent years, various kinds of research periodicals on natural science have been published one after the other by many research institutes, academic bodies and institutions of higher learning. This obviously is an essential requisite for the development of scientific research, and once a periodical is issued, the responsibilities involved are very great indeed. People expect that the various research periodicals on natural science, having experienced the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, will rid themselves of the old rules set by the bourgeoisie and revisionism in order that the new features of the proletariat and socialism may be manifested. Many publications have made great efforts in this direction and in varying degrees attained considerable progress and notable achievements, so much so that they have in varying degrees been welcomed by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers as well as by revolutionary intellectuals. However, with a revolutionary task as arduous as the one before us, we are still obliged to exert the utmost effort.

At present, comrades on the battle front in the field of natural science are keeping pace with the people of the country by studying in earnest Chairman Mao's recent important instruction on the question of theory as well as quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are exerting themselves to understand the great practical significance and far-reaching historical implications of Chairman Mao's instructions. As we approach matters related to reform in research periodicals on natural science, not only should the important instructions of Chairman Mao be taken as the guiding thought, but these periodicals should in the last analysis serve as instruments for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, despite the fact that various publications, research periodicals on natural science included, have their respective characteristics and specific content. Chairman Mao has taught us long ago: "Until the extermination of classes, newspapers, periodicals, broadcasting stations and news agencies all have a class character and serve a certain class." The bourgeoisie and revisionists say that natural science research periodicals are above classes and politics and are compilations of "purely academic" research papers. This is absolutely a lie, and intended merely as a pretext to cover up the fact that research in natural science serves nothing but bourgeois interests. In publishing research periodicals on natural science, we proletarians should adhere firmly to the basic line of the Party and abide by the principle of scientific research as it is written into the Constitution, "serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and be integrated with productive labor." We must be guided by the Marxist world outlook in studying both theoretical and practical problems found in the field of natural science, nurture new

things, sum up historical experience and our own practical experience, repudiate revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook, so as to accelerate the pace of development of China's science and technology along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and unite with the old, middle-aged and young scientists and technicians to render better services to socialist revolution and construction and to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On this basic question, whether we can break with the traditional concepts of the bourgeoisie and whether we have a high level of consciousness is the key to whether we can publish natural science periodicals with a new look.

Ever since the launching of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, quite a number of natural science research periodicals have carried articles repudiating Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and probing into the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools in the realm of natural science. This is good. There is a need for natural science research periodicals to participate in the political and ideological struggles in the superstructure where Marxism will prevail over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. The development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the upsurge in the study of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat have further confronted us with the historical task of fighting for and occupying the position in the field of natural science with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In order to accomplish this historical task, it would not be enough just to publish a few critical articles expressing our stand in the front pages of a periodical, while leaving its basic features intact. A natural science research periodical should combine the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius with that of revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook permeating in the various fields of natural science. We must make an effort to put Marxist materialist dialectics in command of scientific research work, sum up the achievements of research, improve the literary style, and renew the outlook of the periodical completely.

A number of periodicals have done fairly well, successively putting out some articles of high quality and starting a systematic critique of certain idealistic and metaphysical viewpoints with great influence in the field of natural science. This raises a question: what about other periodicals? The Party Central Committee had proposed, as early as the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, to organize "criticism of the various reactionary viewpoints on the battle fronts of philosophy, history, political economy, education, literary and art works, literary and art theories and theories of natural science." The influence of the bourgeois world outlook in the sphere of theories of natural science is very deep. Set against the victorious unfolding of the struggle to criticize the bourgeoisie on the other fronts, natural science periodicals still have to greatly strengthen their own work in this respect. We must seriously organize the forces, earnestly prepare and deploy them for battle. In no way should it be thought that the struggle against the bourgeoisie is a matter only for political and philosophical journals. Under no circumstances should we stay outside of this struggle and live in peace with revisionism and the bourgeois world outlook.

An important indication as to whether natural science periodicals have broken away from the old rut is whether they have seriously (and not perfunctorily) unfolded revolutionary mass criticism in the realm of their disciplines.

Attention should be paid to investigating and discerning various trends of thought in the field of natural science both at home and abroad. The development of modern natural science has been increasingly verifying and enriching dialectical materialism, while giving rise to all sorts of reactionary philosophical schools and reactionary social ideas in capitalist and revisionist countries. If we listen to the hysterical cries abroad about the "climate crisis," the "ecological crisis," "depreciation of the human brain," and the "energy exhaustion " and look at the long discredited "study of the mind" which is again in vogue in the Soviet Union and the United States, we will get a general idea of how far foreign reactionary thinking has gone in the field of natural science. US imperialism asked its astronauts to conduct in-flight experiments on "telepathy," the deceptive nature of which has already been exposed by the astronauts themselves. Strange as it may seem, Soviet publications hanging out the "socialist" signboard are still giving such "experiments" a great deal of publicity, spreading the rumor that positive results had been obtained from them. Is it not an extremely queer social phenomenon for the world's two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, which are reputed to possess modern science and technology, to involve themselves in such swindling tricks as "spiritualism" and "astrology"? However, it may not necessarily be all that surprising. It is but a reflection of the political, economic and ideological crises confronting imperialism and social-imperialism in the field of natural science. Lenin once made an analysis of "the crisis in physics" at the beginning of the 20th century, and called on militant materialists and natural scientists to criticize idealism in "physics". Said Lenin: "If only we recall the great majority of philosophical fads that constantly emerged in the countries of Europe, from those factions related to the discovery of radium to those clinging to the theories of Einstein,we will know the connections of the class interests and the class stand of the bourgeoisie and their support for all kinds of religion with the ideological content of all kinds of philosophical fads." Many of the ideological tides accompanying natural science are universal in character. The existence of idealism and metaphysics in the field of natural science in our country also has a profound class origin, let alone the epistemological origin. When studying and introducing foreign science and technology, some people who lack the Marxist critical capability follow,willy-nilly, the modern reactionary ideas of other countries. This is a phenomenon which existed to a serious extent before, still exists now, and will appear in the future. We should, therefore, guard against the intrusion of all kinds of reactionary tides of thought and all kinds of idealist and metaphysical ideas into the sphere of natural science. If the proletariat does not take over the ideological front, it will be taken over by the bourgeoisie. It is imperative for our research periodical on natural science to face the realities of struggle at home and abroad, take an active part in the struggle, systematically scrutinize and analyze the past and present

conditions of various subjects one by one as well as the relevant theories, schools and ideas. It is necessary for them to persistently unfold revolutionary mass criticism against idealism, metaphysics, and other reactionary ideas on the question of natural science.

In our country, classes and class struggle still exist, and there still exist the ground and conditions for the emergence of new bourgeois elements. Bourgeois elements, both new and old, will not hesitate to make use of natural science and technology in carrying out their activities to restore capitalism. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique once resorted to "using technology to cover politics" as a counter-revolutionary tactic. Lin Li-kuo's small "fleet" made a special study of how certain new techniques could be used to serve their counter-revolutionary scheme for a coup d'etat, with some of its members directly taking charge of certain technical departments. It is imperative that our comrades in charge of publishing these periodicals pay serious attention to and analyze these facts of intense class struggle and draw the necessary conclusions as to what should be encouraged and what should be opposed. Work on this question has not been unfolded, and we raise the subject here for study by everyone.

In regard to research papers that make up the greater space of a natural science periodical, an effort should also be made to introduce a new look. This of course takes time. But primarily research papers should be assured of correct guidance and direction. They should manifest the Marxist world outlook as the commander and materialist dialectics as the guide. They should reflect the reform carried out in our scientific research work according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line since the great proletarian cultural revolution, the contributions of scientific research work in promoting industrial and agricultural production as well as socialist reconstruction, the accomplishments and creations of the mass movement in scientific experimentation with workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force, the good results achieved by the integration of scientists and technicians and the worker and peasant masses, the fruit obtained in theoretical research on the basis of extensive practice, and so on and so forth. In a word, we should select, organize and publish those research papers that reflect new things and the new atmosphere born out of struggle-criticism-transformation in scientific research work in order to enhance such struggle-criticism-transformation. Otherwise, if most research papers were allowed to retain their old look, they would have a regressive, and not a promotional, effect.

It is heartening to see a gradual increase in the number of articles carried in research periodicals on natural science that show research consciously conducted according to Chairman Mao's teaching--"Everybody must gradually learn to use the scientific approach of dialectics," and that show integration of theory and practice, science and production. For example, research papers by some worker-peasant scientists not only make their contributions in production but also advance new ideas on science and technology, while also benefiting people in respect to studying and applying materialist dialectics. Such articles have opened a new face for natural science periodicals. Also, comprehensive research articles on the movement of the earth's crust and geological dynamics are not only creative theoretically but also of significance as a guide to

practice, besides attacking certain traditional viewpoints. They also enlighten other disciplines and the general readers. People hope to see more and more of such articles. However, many research papers published in periodicals today are lacking in ideological character, practical and theoretical significance. They seem to ignore philosophy but are often filled with crumbs from the decadent philosophy of the bourgeoisie and are divorced from the practice of the three great revolutionary movements. As regards methodology, they often restrict themselves to the superficial and one-sided description of certain phenomena and are incapable of making analyses from phenomenon to essence. They seem satisfied with only making an isolated cross-sectional study of matters and are not used to the dialectical synthetic approach. Cross-sectional research is of course also necessary, but if research journals are filled with such research papers and refrain from explaining matters from the viewpoint of integrating theory with practice and revealing the essence of things through their broad connections with other things and their historical development so as to find out the laws to provide practice with guidance, then there virtually would be no way in which major importance can be attached to theoretical work. Those who describe the phenomena without making theoretical generalization , who employ all sorts of scientific instruments without putting their brains to work, and who do a lot of complex calculations without forming clear-cut concepts have in effect turned themselves in different degrees into slaves of metaphysics and scholasticism. Such is the case with certain research workers who have been used to the "scientific approach." Engels had long ago criticized the fallacious assertion that in natural science one should confine oneself to describing the facts. Said Engels: "In the age of the theory of evolution and the transformation of energy, it is unthinkable that one should be so naive as to say such things." The mere collecting of material and describing it was a historical hallmark of 18th century natural science. Owing to the establishment of the theory of evolution and the discovery of such laws as that of transformation of energy, "natural science has been developed to such an extent that it can no longer evade dialectical synthesis." Articles that restrict themselves to cross-sectional description of nature are boring and tasteless, resembling dried up botanical specimens uprooted from the earth which gave them life.
Botanical specimens are useful but can in no way replace research into the laws of growth of living plants. Such a situation precisely resulted from the influence of the bourgeois world outlook and from separation from practice and the masses, in total defiance of the historical trends of development in natural science, and sticking to incomplete methods of research.

There is also room for improvement in the literary style of certain research papers. This is not a simple question of composition, but a matter involving the correct use of materialist dialectics to guide and sum up the results of scientific research. We do not demand that research papers be written in the form of philosophical lectures, nor do we ask for the mechanical application of a few philosophical terms in the absence of objective facts and scientific experimentation. Rather, we demand that in writing research papers we make an effort to manifest the role of Marxist philosophy in guiding research. Some research projects are originally conceived from practical needs and are of great practical significance and can be undertaken successfully through the many repetitions of the process of

practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge, and through an analysis and resolution of the principal contradiction. However, when a research paper is produced along the lines of a certain rigid format, the lively and actual dialectical process disappears. What is originally intelligible becomes unintelligible. Such stereotyped writing shackles one's thinking; it is a sanctuary of metaphysics and scholastic philosophy, and an obstacle to the development and progress of natural science in our country. Some reform is needed.

The consistent adherence to the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in the publishing of periodicals is of great significance to the occupation of the position of natural science by Marxism. Unfortunately, some natural science research periodicals conduct no criticism and hold no academic discussion; they are rigid and lifeless. They are unfavorable to the growth of new things and to the development of natural science. In order to change this situation, periodicals should actively unfold contending and scientific discussion. They should encourage the academic style of exploring scientific problems with practice and not certain "authorities" on natural science as the standard. They should be good at discovering and supporting the correct and penetrating views of the "lowly" and "small characters," whose creative spirit should be encouraged. Some periodicals have begun to pay attention to unfolding contention purposefully under the guidance of the Marxist world outlook. This is a good sign and should be promoted.

To reform natural science research periodicals, it is necessary to solve many problems, involving several problems of using Marxism to take over the position of natural science and carry on the battle. The key to running these periodicals well is to strengthen the leadership of related units and Party committees of higher organs over the periodicals. It should be seen that the influence of bourgeois traditional forces and the idea of bourgeois right is rather serious in natural science periodicals, so to occupy this position with Marxism is no easy task. Some related Party committees seldom concern themselves with publishing work; they do not grasp and utilize this important tool, and all they do is just leave it to a couple of editors. Such a state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue. The Party committees concerned should first and foremost strengthen their leadership over the periodicals ideologically, politically and in policies, while organizationally strengthening and augmenting the forces of the periodicals so as to enable them to fulfill their militant tasks. Editors of the periodicals should make an effort to study Marxism a little more. Reform of the periodicals should be carried out in step with the building up of a Marxist theoretical contingent in the field of natural science. They should publish the periodicals in an open-door manner and closely integrate with the worker-peasant-soldier masses battling at the frontline of the three great revolutionary movements and with the old, middle-aged and young scientists and technicians. Under Party leadership and under the impetus of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and the study of the theory on the proletarian dictatorship, the pace of reform of research periodicals on natural science will surely be quickened, so that they will play a greater militant role in consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and in fully realizing modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology.

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The Struggle Between Two Kinds of Ideology in Commodity Exchange

- Beginning with the Hunan Flower Drum Play"On the Way To Deliver Goods"

by

Hu Jung (胡 容)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 4, April 1, 1975)

The Hunan flower drum play "On the Way To Deliver Goods" is a short play that reflects the struggle of commercial workers against bourgeois ideology in commodity exchange. It describes how Fang Hsiu-ch'un, responsible person of a supply and marketing cooperative, while on her way to deliver goods, manages to persuade Granny Ho not to purchase some goods she should not buy. Though the plot of the story is simple, it presents a very important problem of how to persist in the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two ideas in commodity exchange.

"On the Way To Deliver Goods" gives us a typical portrayal of an advanced figure like Fang Hsiu-ch'un, and through this portrayal it vividly expresses the idea that we must not only give play to the historical role of commodity production and exchange in the socialist period but also restrict bourgeois right in commodity exchange under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only thus can we turn commodity exchange to the advantage of the development of the socialist economy, prevent capitalist restoration and really serve socialism.

In the beginning of the story, we see persons carrying goods on their shoulder poles across mountains and rivers. Fang Hsiu-ch'un, and her sales assistant, Hsiao Lan, are on their way to deliver goods to their customers. It is an inspiring scene showing how they have come all the way to bring convenience to the customers at their doorsteps. Fang is a cadre newly emerging from the great proletariat cultural revolution. She not only delivers goods for production and livelihood to the commune members up in the mountain villages, she also finds all sorts of ways to propagate the principles and policies of the Party during her business calls. Furthermore, she conscientiously learns from the poor and lower-middle peasants and absorbs political nutrition from them. Chang Man, an old poor peasant, tells her: A bumper harvest has been reaped, and the class enemies may strike again with the capitalist ill winds of the "four-olds." His words set her thinking deeply: "What should we commercial workers do in such a case?" Indeed, the struggle on the commercial front is extremely acute and complicated. The landlords and the bourgeoisie, deprived of the means of production, are liable to carry out restoration activities in the field of circulation they know well, and capitalist tendencies may also emerge in commodity exchange. Old ideas, traditions and habits of the exploiting classes that have spread and greatly influenced people for hundreds of years will also give off their odor during commodity exchange. And people with different ideas react differently to such struggles. Hsiao Lan, a "new commercial solder" who "goes to battle for the first time," is very enthusiastic to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

But she lacks a clear understanding of the problem. So when Granny Ho shows her a "shopping list," she fails to recognize the ideological struggle concealed behind the "list." She is so preoccupied with the task of trying to satisfy all of Granny Ho's demands that she does not discover nor combat the bourgeois thought shown in Granny Ho's purchasing list. Fang Hsiu-ch'un has a higher political level and is able to maintain constant high vigilance in the struggle between the two classes, roads and two ideas. She knows that in order to do his or her work well, a commercial worker must not only possess an ardent desire to serve the people but, above all, must firmly bear in mind the Party's basic line, persist in putting proletarian politics in command and handle problems arising from commodity exchange from the class struggle viewpoint and by means of class analysis. One must never take care of "the cash accounts alone." As Fang says, "commercial work is both ordinary and extraordinary," because it "not only furnishes food, clothes and other consumer goods, but also entails a political war." Owing to her high consciousness, she can consciously turn socialist commerce into a tool for struggle against the bourgeoisie. The moment she discovers that Granny Ho wants to buy many items for a wedding party she should not buy, she immediately decides to work on her and curb such waste and extravagance in commodity exchange.

But Granny Ho has her own "reasons." She wants the wedding of her son to be more "lively and merry," "more decent and respectable." But such "dignity" and "respectability" is actually ostentatious display of extravagance commonly practiced by the exploiting classes. Influenced by bourgeois ideology, Granny Ho even wrongly argues that this would "give the poor and lower-middle peasants a moral boost." Fang, in real earnest, tells her that in the old society the poor suffered a lot from such "dignity." Too poor to afford a party, they were forced to go into debt, and scarcely had the party ended than the lender would appear and demand the money back. Indeed, "one feels sorrow while laughing and has to hold his tears back." Today, we have stood up. But if we should organize wedding ceremonies with such waste and extravagance as the landlords and capitalists did, we would destroy the new spirit of the proletariat and enhance the evil style of the bourgeoisie. The laboring people are hard working and thrifty. These are fine qualities and glorious revolutionary traditions which we should keep and foster. To be "prepared against war and famine and do everything for the people," to strive to build our country into a powerful modern socialist state and to make greater contributions to mankind--such is the real wish of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Though Fang succeeds in helping Granny Ho realize that wasting money in this way is wrong, the latter still feels that "weddings should be a little ceremonious." She doesn't understand that "ceremonies" are identified with the cannibalistic ethical codes of Confucius and Mencius and old habits and customs of the landlords and bourgeoisie. As Fang puts it, "the reactionaries advocate etiquette to enslave the laboring people." This is very true indeed. In the past, the reactionary ruling classes used such decadent ideas of "etiquette" to shackle the minds of the oppressed people, stifle the revolution and maintain their reactionary rule. Now, the overthrown class enemies are still attacking the proletariat with such things in a vain attempt to restore capitalism. We must thoroughly criticize the Confucian-Mencian doctrines, criticize the rotten ideologies of all

decadent classes, and completely break away from old traditions and ideas, for this is the only way for us to effectively combat the corrosive influences of the landlord and bourgeois ideology on the laboring people and to impose all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. This is what Fang is doing. With her "bold attempts to break old habits," she patiently and carefully educates Granny Ho, and finally succeeds in raising her class struggle consciousness and helping her recognize the reactionary nature of old ideas, customs, and habits. The old woman willingly changes her "original plan" and agrees not to buy those things she "should not buy."

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "The overall policy of our economic and financial work is to develop the economy and insure supplies." Fang Hsiu-ch'un is actively carrying out Chairman Mao's policy when she takes Hsiao Lan along with her to deliver goods to customers, doing what she can to bring convenience to the masses. That is why she opposes waste and extravagance in commodity exchange. If waste and extravagance are not opposed, it will be impossible to satisfy the real needs of the broad masses of the people, and capitalist tendencies will be encouraged to develop. Our Party and state have worked consistently to gradually improve the life of the people on the basis of developing production. But such improvement, while linked to the level of production, also presupposes diligence and frugality. Granny Ho, in arranging for her son's marriage, has ordered many unnecessary things for the four seasons. Plus the wedding dinner, the total cost would run to 500-600 yuan at least. This would be a complete waste of money, improper and unjustified. As Hsiao Lan doesn't understand the identity between satisfaction of needs and oppositon to waste, she not only sells the goods she has with her to Granny Ho, but even apologizes to her for not selling her enough. Hsiao Lan's efforts to meet all of her customer's demands seem to conform with the policy of serving the people wholeheartedly. But the fact of the matter is that such efforts would only help support the ill winds of ostentation and extravagance, in violation of both the principles of socialist commodity exchange and the basic interests of the people. When Fang tries to persuade Granny Ho to return the goods, it does not mean that she doesn't care about her customer's needs. When Granny Ho changes her mind and returns all the goods she has bought, Fang tells her: "Just return the things that are not needed, and keep those you really need." Thus Fang has properly combined the restriction of wasteful purchasing with satisfying the legitimate needs of the people. This is really what we mean by faithfully carrying out Chairman Mao's policy of "developing the economy and ensuing supplies" and serving the people wholeheartedly.

The old ideas which Granny Ho shows in commodity exchange also show that she has fallen under the bourgeois influence of free trading. In her view, if she has the money, she can buy anything she wants to, and it is the duty of the business organization to supply the goods. So when Fang Hsiu-ch'un and Hsiao Lan ask her to return the goods, she is surprised and says: "I have seen only sales assistants delivering goods but not those demanding the return of goods." This is the viewpoint of free trading, a product of the capitalist system. In capitalist society the capitalists control all the products and all they care about is how to gain maximum profits. They never care about the needs of the

masses. Their decision to sell is based entirely on the profit motive. In socialist society, owing to the existence of the ownership by the whole people and the collective ownership by the working masses, commodity production and exchange cannot yet be abolished, but their purpose is to promote, through the flow of commodities, the development of socialist economy in order to meet the constantly growing demands of industrial and agricultural production and of the people's daily life. It follows then that we cannot allow commodity exchange to become free trade without guidance. It must be guided by the Party's line and policies. It must be conducive to the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and it must contribute to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If bourgeois right in commodity exchange is not restricted, if no steps are taken against the capitalist mode of business management, and if we advocate free trade as Liu Shao-ch'i and other revisionist chieftains did, the result would be just as Lenin said: "Back to capitalism." Fang Hsiu-ch'un's persistence in the socialist principle of commodity exchange and her efforts to persuade Granny Ho to change her mind embody the demands of the Party's basic line.

"The serious problem is the education of the peasantry." Until collective ownership is elevated to ownership by the whole people and until the remnants of private economy have disappeared completely, peasants will continue to retain some of the small producers' characteristics, which is nothing strange at all. Lenin pointed out: "The transformation of small peasants, the transformation of their way of thinking and habits, will take several generations to accomplish." Granny Ho's lavish plan for her son's wedding is a reflection of such old ideas and old habits. Therefore, the problem of whether to struggle against or ignore Granny Ho's erroneous thoughts is by no means a small problem. It is one bearing on what path we are leading the peasants to. Of course, such problems as this should be resolved only through democratic and persuasive methods, and never by crude or coercive means. The vigorous ideological struggle Fang wages against Ho's erroneous ideas manifests her firm stand for proletarian principles. At the same time, she also pays great attention to her approach to the matter: using persuasive and educational means instead of simple or coercive means. "To water a tree, we must water its roots. To help people, we must help their souls." The reason why Fang tries "three times to persuade" Granny Ho is that she wants to help the old lady raise her class struggle and line struggle consciousness. Delivering her attack on Ho's muddle-headed views, Fang begins by contrasting past bitterness with today's happiness to arouse Ho's class feelings. Then she helps Ho to improve her cognitive ability through criticism of Confucian-Mencian doctrines. At the same time, she encourages Ho with the great ideals and prospects of the revolution, urging her to bear the entire nation in mind and continue the revolution. In the end, she succeeds in transforming Ho's thoughts and even makes her "resolved" to take the lead in the protracted struggle to destroy the old and establish the new. Chairman Mao has said: "We must firmly believe that we can help the laboring people overcome or correct their shortcomings or mistakes through suitable political work." Granny Ho's progress vividly shows that so long as we persist in educating the peasants with Marxism-Leninism-

Mao Tsetung Thought and help them gradually overcome the old things they have inherited and so long as we persist in restricting bourgeois right, we will be able to better guide them to firmly take the bright socialist road.

Differentiation comes from comparison. If we take a look at the commerce of the Soviet revisionists who claim that their country is a "developed socialist state," we can clearly distinguish between socialist commodity exchange and capitalist commodity exchange.

It may be a coincidence. Not long after the release of the color film made of "On the Way to Deliver Goods," the Soviet revisionist "Drama" magazine published a two-act play "Alert" in its No. 8 1974 issue, describing the business activities of two commercial workers, who are the manager and sales assistant of a supply and marketing cooperative respectively. What is different is that while Fang Hsiu-ch'un persists in putting proletarian politics in command in commodity exchange, Mr. Olehovik (奥列霍维克), the manager, puts profit in command and a sinister line runs through the entire length of his business activities. "I am a money tree," confesses he. As selling liquor is a very profitable business, he does his best to sell vodka and establishes a bar. He also sells "on credit," devising all sorts of tricks to attract more customers. He is indeed very resourceful in making money. But as "the whole village is submerged in wine," the place goes wild, and the drunken people fight each other "with tractors." A 70-year-old farmer says indignantly: "If this goes on, not only the flesh but also the fat of people will be squeezed out!" Actually, it is not the tractor that squeezes out all the flesh and blood of the working people. It is the big and small new bourgeois elements like Olehovik who have done it. As Lenin pointed out: "Work for money--this is the morality of the capitalist world." In the view of the Brezhnev renegade clique, money is a pronoun of morality. While they talk endlessly about "communist morality," and what not, they actually regard it as a fashionable decorative phrase for capitalist profit making. They never care about the people's needs. All they are thinking of day and night is how to make money and more money.

Chairman Mao says: "As an ideological form, literary and artistic works are all products of reflection of social life in man's mind." In "On the Way to Deliver Goods," the great image of Fang Hsiu-ch'un is an artistic sketch of the militant life of the workers of our country's socialist commercial enterprises. The despicable things done by manager Olehovik in "Alert" reveal the way in which the Soviet revisionist renegade clique pursues the revisionist line of putting profit in command. The two typical characters and the two different modes of business management as depicted in these two different stories are the inevitable results of two different lines and two different social systems. When bourgeois representatives like Khrushchev and Brezhnev came into power, they set themselves the task of carrying out the revisionist line, trying desperately to expand bourgeois rights and the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labor. With little effort, they restored the capitalist system in the Soviet Union. Though they may still hang the socialist signboard and claim that they want to "build communism," it is plain that their

so-called "socialism" or "communism" is merely a fig-leaf to cover up their crimes of restoring capitalism at home and pursuing hegemonism abroad.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our country is continuing the revolution persistently under the dictatorship of the proletariat. After it basically accomplished the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, it launched the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Particularly during the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, new things have emerged in abundance. Their appearance marks not only the deepening of the socialist revolution but also the adoption of a series of basic measures encouraged and taken by our Party to restrict bourgeois right, minimize the three great differences and combat and prevent revisionism. It is the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat that has opened up a broad path for the growth of new people and things shining with communist ideas. "On the Way to Deliver Goods," a Hunan flower drum play, which depicts Fang Hsiu-ch'un as an advanced commercial worker, is a fresh flower rooted in the soil of socialism. We firmly believe that by persisting in the proletarian dictatorship under the brilliant guidance of Marxism-Lenin-Mao Tsetung Thought, we shall certainly be able to use socialism to defeat capitalism, abolish the bourgeoisie and all other exploting classes, and together with the proletariat and the masses of the people of various countries, achieve the great objective of realizing communism the world over.

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What Do the Changes in the Six State Farms in Ninghsia Tell?

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Six state farms including Lienhu and Lingwu in the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region were successively set up since 1952. In the past, although production and construction had developed year after year, yet they remained backward with low yields and financial losses.

Were their production conditions bad? They were not. These six state farms were set up on swampy, alkaline land of the Yinch'uan Plains where an irrigated zone with water diverted from the Yellow River was being created. With the continuing development of the project, drainage and irrigation facilities were gradually improved, most of the arable land could be drained and irrigated, and the soil was fairly fertile. For dry and rain-scarce Ninghsia, this was no mean achievement.

Is the land area vast and the population small here? No, either. The six state farms at present have a total of 165,000 mow of arable land and a total of more than 12,800 workers. Apart from cadres at various levels and workers engaged in stock-breeding and industrial and sideline undertakings, by far the greater part of the workers are directly engaged in farm labor, with each taking care of not more than 30 mow on the average. Many farm jobs have been basically mechanized.

Do the workers here show a lower level of socialist enthusiasm? Of course, not. The broad masses of workers have hailed from all parts of the motherland. Among them are demobilized PLA fighters who once worked on the frontier wasteland and educated youths who have arrived to help construction in the border region. Most are formerly poor and lower-middle peasants. They love Chairman Mao and the Party ardently and show a strong wish to run the socialist farms well. For the past years, they have toiled hard and diligently. This has made for continued expansion of basic construction on the farms and gradual changes in the features of the land.

Then, where does the trouble lie? It is that the leadership did not have a correct ideological and political line. Since the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius was unfolded last year, the obvious changes undergone by these six state farms have amply showed that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has enabled the leadership of the various farms to raise its consciousness of the line. In close connection with the realities of class and line struggles on the farmland reclamation front, they have penetratingly criticized the revisionist line on running the farms and the capitalist style of management. Adjustment in orientation has thus promoted the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. The production features of the farms underwent momentous changes in a year's time. That year /1974/, total grain output of the six farms was up 36 percent over the preceding year and 150 percent over the

record year of 1965 before the great proletarian cultural revolution. This meant an average per-mow yield of 593 catties or an annual increase of more than 150 catties, crossing the "Yellow River." The amount of commodity grain delivered to the State was 65 percent more than that of the preceding year. The diversified economy has also registered substantial progress. The number of hogs raised chalked up an increase of 190 percent compared with 1965, averaging 1½ head per capita. The six farms have all ceased incurring losses. This fully shows that low yield and financial losses were due, not to bad production conditions, but to the failure to tap the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. This being done now, the notion that "low yield is difficult to change, financial losses are difficult to avoid, and farms are difficult to run" has gone bankrupt.

A state farm is an important position for socialist agriculture. It should fully play an exemplary role in the process of developing socialist agriculture. However, how can we grasp properly the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines so as to continuously consolidate and expand this socialist position? The leadership of these six farms was not so clear about this in the past. Some leading comrades held that since a state farm was an agricultural enterprise under the system of whole people ownership and was devoted to socialism, the problem of orientation and road, so it seems, no longer existed. They failed to see that the leading squad was faced with the question of what line to take. Their approach to work was: "Hurry planting in spring and field management in summer, and be busy with production from dawn to dusk." When the farms were not run well, some wanted to change the operating policy to pursue profit, others wanted to reverse the losses by "material incentives." They failed to grasp the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines as the key link, and were far from being conscious and energetic in implementing the Party's basic line.

The deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius since last year has profoundly educated the leadership of these farms. At the start of the movement, the broad masses of workers, displaying soaring revolutionary enthusiasm, put up one big-character poster after another to criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. With facts, they revealed and analyzed the past and present conditions of class struggle on the farms and criticized the work of the leadership. The workers said: "We must work for, not feed on, socialism." Their criticism and opinions deeply jolted the leadership of the various farms. With the help of the higher Party committee, the leaders joined the rank and file in a penetrating criticism of the revisionist line and its influence on construction on the farms. Meanwhile, they made investigations and study, seriously summed up experiences and lessons in light of realities, and raised their consciousness of implementing the Party's basic line.

Chükou Farm is located in the Weining irrigation area on the Yinch'uan Plains, with fertile soil and a good irrigation and drainage system. Its production conditions are excellent. But in the past, due to the influence of the revisionist line and failure to rely on the masses and arouse their enthusiasm, the role of irrigation facilities and agricultural mechanization was not brought into full play, output was low, and financial losses were reported for years running. To alter this situation, the farm had tried many methods. In 1964, it wanted to reverse the losses

by extending "small freedoms", abolishing the labor welfare measures, etc. In 1968, thinking that "growing grain is bound to cause losses," it shifted the main emphasis to planting fruit trees. In 1970, it even thought that having more people would mean heavier losses, and sent away more than 2,000 persons. Thus, though a lot of things were done, problems were not solved but piled up. In 1973, through the criticism of Lin Piao and the rectification of work style, the farm Party committee gradually understood that the unsatisfactory results were mainly due to the interference and sabotage by the revisionist line and to departure from the socialist orientation. So, during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, it grasped the class struggle, led the masses to initiate an attack on the class enemy and the revisionist line and to criticize capitalist tendencies. With the cadres and masses learning from Tachai together, their socialist enthusiasm rose, and the situation changed quickly. In a year's time, grain output was double. There were no more financial losses.

During the criticism of Lin Piao and rectification of work style and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the various farms, after summing up their experiences and lessons in light of the detour they had taken, realized that for state farms there likewise exists the question of what road to take, and that it should not be taken for granted that an enterprise which is under the socialist system of whole people ownership will naturally follow the socialist orientation and road. In fact, within a state farm the struggle between the two classes and two roads is acute, and from the economic base to the superstructure there are still traces of the old society as well as conditions allowing the existence of capitalism or its re-appearance. If we do not consciously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line but do things badly, there is the danger of a socialist enterprise changing its nature.

Greater clarification of the orientation thus deepened the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. The Party committees of the various farms generally initiated an open-door rectification campaign. The masses were urged to help the Party committee sum up experience and lessons concerning the direction and line in farm operation and to further criticize and eliminate the revisionist line and its influence.

In running state farms, should we learn from the Tachai spirit and rely on our own efforts or sit in the lap of the state, "waiting for, depending on and begging its help"? This is an important problem bearing on what line to follow. In the past, these farms mostly relied on the state for money and supplies and hired labor to till the land. In this connection, "hiring labor with state money" was the most outstanding aspect of the farm's management. A farm which hired the most labor developed from hiring of labor during busy farming season to hiring of labor all the year round. It even hired temporary labor for fixing toilets, erecting chicken coops and paving roads. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the various farms unfolded revolutionary mass criticism against labor hiring, and on the plane of the two-line struggle,

analyzed its danger. The workers said critically: "By relying on hired labor to do farming, we will become more lazy and less ambitious." Such an approach would not only corrupt the workers ideologically but also encourage the growth of capitalist spontaneous forces in the rural areas and interfere with the development of the collective economy of the people's commune. This is a manifestation of the revisionist line on running the farms, a typical style of the capitalists. Formerly, some leading cadres in charge of these farms used to think that with more land and insufficient manpower, there was no alternative to hiring temporary labor during busy farming seasons. Others held that the farm being an agricultural unit, it was responsible only for production, so that capital construction on the farm had to be undertaken with outside help. Is it true that a farm cannot fulfill its tasks by relying on its strength alone? The No. 6 production team of Lingwu Farm answers this answer in the negative. The cadres of this team take the lead in doing labor and join the masses in arduous struggle. In 1973, without outside help it accomplished its various tasks with flying colors. Its experience was a forceful criticism of the idea of "waiting, depending and begging." It shows that the potential exists among the masses, and that those who take no heed of the strength and enthusiasm of the farm workers cannot really implement the policy of self-reliance.

With the thinking of the leadership adjusted, the potential latent among the masses is released. To solve the difficulties arising out of labor shortage, the various farms have relied on the masses in finding the ways and means and adopted a number of effective measures: (1) During busy farming seasons or when a capital construction project is being built, forces are concentrated to fight a battle of annihilation, which is fought not only by agricultural laborers but also by people working in offices, shops, schools and factories as well as logistics personnel in the farms. (2) Technical innovations are undertaken on a mass scale. In a matter of only half a year, the various farms have trial-manufactured or converted 28 principal farm implements and raised the level of mechanization of farming. (3) Farming systems and methods are improved, and scientific farming is practiced. As a result, not a single temporary worker was hired in 1974, yet production yielded better results than in any of the previous years,and farmland capital construction projects were handled in a far more fruitful way. The various farms have tried by all possible means to tap their potential and to improve enterprise management. They have unfolded increase-production and economy drives. They produce, make or repair and fix the things they need if they can. They have in four months increased state revenues and saved state money to the tune of more than 1,600,000 yuan.

To run the farms well, we must rely upon the broad masses of workers. But what do we rely on to arouse their enthusiasm? And what kind of enthusiasm must we arouse? Different lines supply different answers. Due to interference from the revisionist line, these farms used to give away bonuses under various names. In the midst of the great cultural revolution, the workers criticized the revisionist line for relying on "material incentives" in running the farms. But in the last two years, some farms again instituted a bonus system. Although the workers had criticized and resisted this practice, yet some leaders felt that by relying on ideological and political work alone, the masses could not be quickly aroused, but the adoption of "material incentives" could bring

faster results. Was it true that ideological and political work did not work? Did the masses demand "material incentives"? Or did the leadership insist on "material incentives"? What happened to hog raising in Lingwu Farm vividly answered this question. In the past, the Farm relied on bonuses, but the hogs were not bred well and losses were suffered every year. Then, during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers, on the basis of personal experience, criticized the revisionist essence of "material incentives" in corrupting the workers and undermining their unity. They sharply pointed out that this approach would "cause losses to the state and harm the workers." The workers' criticism enlightened the leaders of the farm so they further pondered over the problem on the plane of the ideological and political line. They repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's relevant teachings, summed up experience and lessons, and realized that the main reason why things that had been criticized appeared again was that they had not removed the remaining pernicious influence of the revisionist line from their minds and did not have a high degree of consciousness of the line. Through revolutionary mass criticism, the bonus system was abolished. The Party committee, stepping up ideological and political work, organized activities to compare the new society with the old and conducted a socialist education. It commended advanced units and model breeders in hog breeding, and helped the workers foster the concept of raising hogs for the revolution. In 1974, the number of hogs raised by each breeder rose from 150 head in the preceding year to nearly 200 head. The average weight of each hog was also raised from 140 catties to 160 catties. These facts show that ideological and political work is good but it has not done seriously by the leadership, and that workers can do well without bonuses but they have not been treated by the leadership as masters of the farm.

During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers criticized Lin Piao's reactionary program in imitating Confucius' "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and their reactionary fallacies maliciously slandering the laboring people. They smashed "bonuses in command" and other shackles and displayed vast enthusiasm in building socialism. Where labor shortage was felt during the busy farming season, all men and women, old and young, inside the farm swung into action, and worked where they were needed. Mass technical innovations were also developed with vigor. Since spring last year, the workers of the various farms have generally performed spare-time voluntary labor, taking the first steps in forming a new communist style of working without pay for the revolution and making more contributions to the state.

To keep to the socialist direction and run the state farm well, we must continuously raise the consciousness of leading cadres in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Among the leading cadres of these farms many are old comrades who suffered a lot during the years of revolutionary war to defeat the enemy. While working on wasteland reclamation in those years, they toiled with unsurpassed tenacity. Do they still maintain and develop this proletarian revolutionary spirit now? During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, through study and with the help of the masses, some comrades began to perceive that due to the influence of the revisionist line and bourgeois ideas, notions

of shrinking from hardship and fatigue and chasing after a leisurely life began to develop over the past years. As a result, people often found themselves unequal to their tasks and lacked the ambition of building up the socialist cause. This is an important reason for the slow progress in building up the farms. After a rectification campaign unfolded by the Party committee, everyone analyzed such right-leaning conservatism and the world outlook of a coward and sluggard.
Most comrades realized that the socialist revolution is advancing continuously and that if we should develop the moods of standing still and seeking no progress, we would lose our resistance against bourgeois ideas, fail to distinguish between right and wrong in line, show lethargy in work, or even embark on the evil road. On the basis of heightening thinking, they have paid attention to recruiting a group of new elements with high consciousness and enthusiasm that emerged from the line struggle and promoting them to leading posts, and further organized a strong leading core combining the old, the middle-aged and the young. Working with the masses in high spirits and persisting in taking the Party's basic line as the key link in grasping revolution and promoting production, they have, after a year of hard struggle, caused remarkable changes in the backward features of the farms.

Investigation Team of Agricultural and Land Reclamation Bureau, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry

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Adhere to the Correct Line, Do a Good Job in Railway Transportation

by

the Party Committee of the Kirin Railway Bureau

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 4, April 1, 1975)

In the course of studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and in light of the past and current state of class and line struggles in our Bureau, we have further observed that to uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, rely on the socialist enthusiasm of the working class, strengthen ideological and political work, and promote concentration and unity well--such is an important problem bearing on the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots level and on enhancing stability and unity.

The great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "On the basis of concentrating correct opinions, achieve unity in thinking, policy, plan, command, and action. This is what we mean by concentration and unity." The railway is a big artery of the national economy, crossing provinces and regions and linking up all parts of the country. The railway is also an important component of national defense construction, so it is of a semi-military nature. Both during the past war years and the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, our Party has consistently exercised centralized and unified leadership over railway work, assuring a smooth flow of traffic. This has played a major role both in winning the revolutionary war and in promoting the development of industrial and agricultural production. In the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have joined the masses of workers in seriously studying the works by Marx, Lenin and by Chairman Mao, adhering to the Party's basic line and strengthening concentration and unity both ideologically and organizationally. This has given an impetus to revolutionary unity, and the situation of revolution and production is getting more and more favorable. Since 1970, the Bureau has overfulfilled state transportation plans every year. The volume of freight handled in 1974 rose by 50.4 percent over 1965 before the great cultural revolution. In January this year, new successes were achieved. In February, the state transportation plan was again overfulfilled.

Practice makes us understand that the most important thing in achieving concentration and unity is to put right the ideological and political line of the leadership. Without a correct ideological and political line, there will be no direction for concentration or basis for unity. On this basic issue, there has all along existed a struggle between two lines and two ways of thinking. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, due to interference from the revisionist line, in railway work "material incentives" were once vigorously promoted and stringent controls were imposed on the workers. As a result, the Party's centralized leadership was weakened and undermined. The workers were prevented from displaying their socialist enthusiasm. Losses were sustained in railway operations. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses of

workers criticized the revisionist line peddled by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao's, yet its pernicious influence still has not been eliminated. When this is reflected in the problem of concentration and unity, some comrades look at it simply as a problem of directing operations. It is thought that if only there is a strict operation command system, things will flow smoothly. In fact, the exercise of centralization, though involving the question of operational direction, has to contend mainly with interference from the revisionist line, sabotage from class enemies and attacks from petty bourgeois spontaneous forces. As Lenin pointed out: "Railway operations may be said to demonstrate most clearly the organic economic ties created by the big capitalists. Here, the struggle by the petty bourgeois disorganized spontaneous forces against the proletarian sense of organization is particularly prominent." We think in exactly the same terms. Our Railway Bureau has nearly 200 transit stations widely scattered along a long line stretching more than 2,000 kilometers. In the past, we used to pay more attention to such key units as marshalling yards and mechanical sections having a bearing on the general situation. But for a time, the work of transit stations was neglected. Some comrades onesidedly looked upon small stations as "safety stations" or "operational stations," and paid attention only to setting rules and regulations, while losing sight of education on the Party's basic line. In some stations the control system was written on notice boards, but the order of transportation was just as chaotic, with delays and accidents continuing to occur. To solve these problems, we organized several investigation teams which spent nearly two months looking into the 20-odd transit stations. The results enlightened and educated us in no small measure. On the Mu-tu line was a Laomiao Station, located in a high frigid mountain area. For a time, influenced by the bourgeois spontaneous forces in society, some workers were keen on taking up sideline occupations to the neglect of revolution and operations. Later, with the help of the higher Party committee, the workers of the station studied Chairman Mao's relevant teachings and unfolded revolutionary mass criticism. Everyone came to understand that though situated in a deep jungle, the station was not a "wonderland" and that for workers to occupy themselves with sideline occupations was a reflection of the erosion of bourgeois ideas within the worker ranks. Through study and criticism, everyone further raised his consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and ideologically drew a clear line of distinction with capitalism while devoting themselves to building socialism. This brought about tremenodus changes in the outlook of the station. For the past years, this station has overfulfilled every year the transportation tasks given by the state.

From the changes of Laomiao Station, we see that the transit stations spread over the vast countryside have numerous ties with the petty bourgeois habitual forces, and class struggle is inevitably reflected in the ranks of the workers. If we refrain from seriously carrying out the Party's basic line and firmly grasping regular ideological and political work, we would provide a market for capitalist activities and even opportunities for the class enemies. Therefore, we cannot look upon transit stations purely as "operational stations," still less can we grasp operation for its own sake. Taking the Party's basic line as

the key link, we organized the masses of cadres and workers of transit stations to repeatedly study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to penetratingly unfold criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and to strive to run these stations also as stations to propagate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, as outposts for a frontal attack on the bourgeoisie and as stations to serve the people wholeheartedly. We also called a work conference of transit stations when we set up typical examples, commended the advanced, and exchanged experiences. Thus, not only was the building of transit stations strengthened, but an impetus was given to revolution and operations throughout the Bureau.

To do a good job of railway transportation, we must firmly set up the concept of the whole and correctly handle the relations between the part and the whole. Chairman Mao has taught us, "We should encourage comrades to take the interests of the whole into account. Every Party member, every branch of work, every statement and every action must proceed from the interests of the whole Party." Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, as it represents the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people, represents the general situation of the revolution, the whole of the revolution. For us, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to strive to do a good job of railway transportation is an important task bearing on the development of the national economy and the strengthening of preparedness against war. Railway transportation is closely bound up with the various fronts of socialist construction. If one bureau or one station or section lags behind in transportation, it would adversely affect one line or even several lines or even "the whole nation as a coordinated chess game." That is why we must work and think in conformity with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, proceeding from the overall task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, developing socialist revolution and construction, and supporting the revolutionary struggles of the people throughout the whole world.

Over the past years, we have consistently paid attention to conducting an education on setting up the concept of the whole among the workers, urging them to think of the whole, act for the whole and preserve the whole and make railway transportation serve industrial and agricultural production, national defense construction, and the livelihood of the people. To this end, we must first strive to do well the part of work under our charge and try by all means to fulfill and overfulfill state plans. Every year we set ourselves a goal to surpass our transportation targets. Last year, we proposed to move an additional 200,000 tons of cargo. However, by the fourth quarter, due to strained supply of locomotives and wagons and unfavorable weather, we still had a long way to go in achieving this goal. Under such circumstances should we satisfy ourselves solely with fulfilling the task laid down in the state plan or consciously do more so as to contribute more to the state? This to us was a test. Inspired by the positive action of the rank and file, full of confidence, and with the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as the motive force, we launched a big battle in transportation. The leading comrades of the Party committees at various levels, together with the office personnel, went deep to the frontline of transportation to join the masses in doing loading and unloading on a crash basis, investigating

and studying things and giving guidance to work. The masses said approvingly: "Each of the three shifts is well guided." The various sub-bureaus, pooling their efforts together, seriously carried out the transportation principle "first unload, second line up, and third load" and "guarantee the essential while taking care of the general." They gave priority to such essential materials as coal, timber and other supplies in support of agriculture, tapping the transportation potential to the full. The Kirin Sub-Bureau, displaying the communist style, tackled difficult jobs while giving convenience to others, assuring them of all wagons they needed. It rendered effective support to its fraternal sub-bureaus. With the workers of the whole Bureau toiling as one, all sorts of difficulties were overcome. Some 258,000 tons more cargo were handled last year, and the goal was overfulfilled.

When a conflict arises between our specific needs and the needs of the whole, should we see only the partial interests, stress our own work, and make the interests of the whole subordinate to the partial interests, or should we consciously persist in concentration and unity, let the part be subordinate to the whole and act on orders? This, too, is a problem we often come across in railway transportation. Last year, in accordance with the instructions of the higher-ups, at one time and another we sent out 15 locomotives to support our fraternal bureaus. On the eve of the Spring Festival this year, the Ministry of Railways ordered our Bureau to send out three locomotives to another bureau and to do so in 24 hours. At that time, our Bureau was busily engaged in transportation for the Spring Festival, and was already handicapped by insufficient locomotives and manpower. Some cadres wanted to execute the order after the Spring Festival was over lest it might affect the transportation work of our Bureau. Following deliberations, we decided to execute the order right away, being resolved to overcome our difficulties, however great. When this task was turned over to the Tunghua Mechanical Section, its Party committee lost no time in calling an enlarged meeting of the Party committee, a meeting of Party and League members, and a general meeting of the workers to get things moving. In only ten hours or so, both men and locomotives were ready, and moved out of Tunghua on the evening of January 28, one hour and 40 minutes ahead of time.

To do a good job of railway transportation, we must raise the consciousness of the workers in carrying out rational rules and regulations and observing discipline. Railway workers, with glorious revolutionary tradition and with a high sense of organization and discipline, constitute a contingent full of combat strength. It is wrong to fail to see this. But it should also be noted that each worker has a different level of consciousness and different training, and that bourgeois ideas and the petty bourgeois sense of disunity are still having a corrosive effect on the workers ranks. This comes into conflict with the strict concentration and discipline required of railway transportation. To resist the influence of such ideas for years past, we have persisted in conducting education in the ideological and political line, on revolutionary traditions and on revolutionary discipline among the worker masses, highly commending exemplary persons and advanced deeds in strict observance of discipline and continuously strengthening the building of the worker ranks in an ideological sense. As a result, execution of various rules and regulations has become the conscious action of the masses of workers. The workers have increased their sense of responsibility

as masters, strictly enforcing technical control regulations, the system of on-the-job responsibility, the quality control and other regulations, thereby consciously safeguarding concentration and unity. Some switchmen look upon their switchrooms as outposts and have not seen their relatives and friends for years, because they have not been able to leave their work. Some, even though their homes are not far away, would not go back but stay at their posts. Mechanical inspectors tour the railway trucks stretching a thousand miles day and night, in winter or in summer, shine or rain, in order to insure that rail traffic flows smoothly without accident. The workers of Tumeng Sub-bureau, by seriously enforcing the rules and regulations, have insured the order of transport operations. Up to the present, not a serious accident has occurred in 650 days.

To do a good job of railway transportation, it is necessary to strengthen the Party spirit and Party leadership over rail operations. Chairman Mao points out: "Of the seven sectors--industry, agriculture, commerce, education, the army, the government and the Party, it is the Party that exercises overall leadership." All our work must be placed under the Party's centralized leadership. In rail operations, we must not only yield to the leadership of the higher Party committee in the railway system but also respect and rely on the leadership of local Party committees. Before the great cultural revolution, due to sabotage by the revisionist line, rail operations were sometimes without the Party's centralized leadership and departed from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revisionist line and the "dictatorship by conventions" were criticized. Party organizations at various levels in our bureau have on their initiative sought the leadership of local Party committees, regularly asking for their advice and reporting to them on their work, the problems that have arisen, and proposals for solving them. They have thus obtained the leadership and supervision of local Party committees. For their part, local Party committees have also showed concern and support for rail operations, continuously stepping up ideological and political work and transport operations. We have also overcome the past wrong ideas "we are the ones who count" and "you cooperate with me," and made it a practice to consult the local authorities when problems arise, and set up new-type cooperative relations with industrial and mining enterprises. On the premise of guaranteeing fulfillment of state plans, we have heeded the local interest, and taken the initiative to support local work, looking upon the production tasks of industrial and mining enterprises as our own and taking the initiative to link up production, transportation and marketing. Moreover, we have strengthened our ties with the broad masses of people along the lines. This has given a broad mass foundation to the work of cherishing the railways and maintaining law and order along the railways.

It is important to continuously strengthen the unity of the "squad" of the Party committee. If the "squad" of the Party committee does not work with unity of will, it cannot unite and lead the masses of workers to better carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and it would be idle to talk about concentration and unity. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, in light of the reality of class and line struggles in our Bureau and around the issue of whether to affirm or negate the great proletarian cultural revolution, Party organizations at

various levels in the whole Bureau made a serious study of the works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and a series of important directives issued by the Party Central Committee, penetratingly criticized Lin Piao's crimes in attacking the great proletarian cultural revolution and splitting up the Party and the revolutionary ranks, and raised the consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, while also further enhancing and strengthening the revolutionary unity of the whole body of workers. Now, all workers of our Bureau are deeply studying the theories of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat as they are determined to unite and work hard to fulfill the rail transportation tasks better and make new contributions toward socialist revolution and construction.

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Self-Reliance Is a Question of Line

by

Li Hsin (黎 新)

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Chairman Mao teaches us: "Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line." This important instruction from Chairman Mao scientifically sums up the practical experience in China's revolution and construction and fully expresses the aspirations and demands of the working class and other laboring people in the country for persevering in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It shows the only correct road for us to rely on our own efforts and build China into a powerful modern socialist country as soon as possible. Persisting in this line over the past two decades and more, we have continuously developed and expanded our industry, agriculture and the national economy as a whole, thereby laying the material foundation for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China is now in the historical period of socialism. The overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes who always attempt to stage a comeback try by might and main to sabotage the socialist economic base. Since China still has two kinds of ownership, i.e., socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people, and practices a commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work, bourgeois right remains in distribution, exchange and the relations between people, and has not been totally abolished even in the system of ownership. Hence there is still soil that engenders capitalism and new bourgeois elements. To triumph over the resistance of the landlord and bourgeois classes, prevent capitalist restoration and eliminate the soil and conditions giving rise to new bourgeois elements, we must do hard and meticulous work in all fields over a long period. An extremely important part of this work is to develop and expand the economic strength of socialism through firm adherence to the line of independence and self-reliance. The growth of the socialist economy and the consolidation and development of the socialist relations of production along this line will put us in a better position to overcome capitalist tendencies in town and country, narrow down gradually the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between manual and mental labor and restrict bourgeois right, and to enable the cadres and masses to maintain the revolutionary tradition and the fine style of hard struggle of the proletariat, resist corruption by bourgeois ideas and defeat the attacks which class enemies launch against us by making use of the idea of bourgeois right. Internationally, imperialism and social-imperialism always dream of subverting our dictatorship of the proletariat. By adhering to the line of independence and self-reliance and building up an independent and

comprehensive industrial and economic system as soon as possible, we can more effectively smash their encirclement, blockade, aggression and subversion. Therefore, perseverence in independence and self-reliance is above all a political question and is something in the service of the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of capitalist restoration. We must look at the question from this angle and link the implementation of the line of self-reliance with adherence to the Party's basic line, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and perseverence in continued revolution under this dictatorship. Only thus can we put this line into practice with still better results.

The struggle over the issue of whether to uphold or oppose the line of independence and self-reliance has been extremely acute over the past 20 years and more. Historical experience tells us that, to adhere to this line, we must wage an unremitting struggle against revisionist lines. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao bitterly hated and stubbornly opposed this line of independence and self-reliance because they wanted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. In a vain attempt to sell out state sovereignty and let the wolves into the house once again, they fanatically advocated the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace and did their utmost to disrupt socialist construction. To counter the interference and sabotage by the revisionist lines, Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us: "Build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift." "The Chinese people have high aspirations, they have ability, and they will certainly catch up with and surpass advanced world levels in the not too distant future." Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's line of independence and self-reliance, the people of the whole country have conducted a hard struggle by which they frustrated imperialist blockade and resisted social-imperialist pressure, and have won one victory after another. The great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and of Lin Piao and subjected their revisionist lines to criticism. As a result, the line of independence and self-reliance has struck a deeper root in people's minds, and the socialist cause has been developing with a greater momentum.

"Historical activity is the activity of the masses." The line of independence and self-reliance proceeds from the basic standpoint of historical materialism. Contrary to the idealist notion of all exploiting classes that history is created by great men, Marxism holds that the masses of people are the makers of history and that the proletariat can rely on nothing but itself and its unity with the masses of other laboring people for the overthrow of the old world, the creation of the new and the realization of communism. Experience over many years shows that we are fully capable of winning victory in revolution and construction by our own strength provided we truly have full confidence in the masses and rely on them, proceed from the country's actual conditions in doing everything, do not yield to imperialist or social-imperialist pressure and do not apply foreign experience mechanically. As early as in the period of the democratic revolution Chairman Mao had pointed out: "On what basis should

our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts." Regeneration through one's own efforts means resting on "our own strength," it means "depending on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people." In the past prolonged revolutionary war, we defeated the powerful enemy and won the victory of the revolution precisely because we acted on Chairman Mao's teaching and waged a hard struggle self-reliantly. During the agrarian revolutionary period, the army and the people in the revolutionary base areas developed production through self-reliance and through indomitable struggle smashed the "encirclement and suppression" by the Kuomintang reactionaries. In the eight years of the War of Resistance Against Japan, we laid the material basis for the success of the war by mobilizing the masses to persist in a people's war and by growing our own food, and eventually defeated the Japanese aggressors. During the War of Liberation the whole army and the entire people fought and engaged in production at the same time and in three years' time and more, with millet plus rifles eliminated the eight million troops of Chiang Kai-shek equipped by the United States. This amply shows that the might of self-reliance stems from the masses of the people, that by relying on the broad masses and persisting in self-reliance we shall always be invincible.

Today we have established a superior social system, the system of socialism, and the masses of laboring people have become masters of the country and of society. As Lenin pointed out, for the past hundreds of years laborers toiled for others, for the exploiters. Under the socialist system, they "for the first time can work for themselves and, moreover, apply all the latest technical and cultural achievements to their work." Therefore, "it is possible for the masses to show the aggressive spirit, carry out emulation drives and develop their creativity boldly in an extensive and truly widespread way." The socialist system has liberated the productive forces, first and foremost the laboring masses themselves who are the decisive factor in the productive forces. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the working class in our country has inexhaustible wisdom and strength. In particular, the working class and other laboring people have further raised their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. This provides a reliable guarantee for us to bring into full play the enthusiasm for socialism and boundless wisdom and ability lying in the masses and better implement the line of independence and self-reliance. For China's working class and other laboring people who are the masters of the house, there is no difficulty that cannot be overcome, and they are capable of performing any miracle on earth.

It is easy for us to say that we must trust and rely on the masses, but to do so in practice is not so easy. Some comrades who say that the masses are heroes always believe in their hearts that they alone know best; when problems crop up they do not consult the workers, do not heed the opinions of the masses or even complain about and blame them. There are also some people who, at the mention of the need to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses, cannot forget "material incentives"; to them, it seems that without these things the enthusiasm of the masses cannot be aroused. This actually is because they entertain the idea of

bourgeois right, a demonstration of the fact that the pernicious influence of the revisionist line has not been completely removed from their minds. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must be good at discovering the enthusiasm of the masses in its very essence." These comrades fail to see that to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and proceed along the socialist road is the ardent wish and strong demand of the working class and the other masses of people who have taken their destiny into their own hands. They do not want to be bullied, blackmailed or oppressed again by imperialism or let the landlords and capitalists stage a comeback. They want to work self-reliantly and independently in a determined effort to build our country into a powerful socialist state, completely eliminate all exploiting classes and finally realize communism. Our cadres should first fully assess this enthusiasm of the masses and give the warmest support and encouragement to it. If we do not rely on the socialist enthusiasm of the masses in developing industry and agriculture, what else should we rely on? Doesn't the fact that production is carried out successfully in many areas and units result from the ample tapping of the socialist enthusiasm of the masses? An important reason why the Tach'ing oilfield, a typical example of taking China's own road of industrial development, has made a major contribution to the country's industry is that its leadership wholeheartedly relied on the working class in all work and has brought into full play the revolutionary initiative of the masses. Instead of resorting to the revisionist "material incentive," it has put proletarian politics in command and persisted in educating the workers in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and arming them with it, enabling them to see their status as masters and their historical mission and to strengthen constantly their sense of responsibility in working for the revolution. This has given wide scope to the revolutionary spirit and heaven-storming enthusiasm of the masses and resulted in a five-fold increase in Tach'ing's production capacity in a short time. We advise those comrades who are unable to discover the enthusiasm of the masses in its essence: Take the red banner--Tach'ing--as a mirror and look at yourself, and see where and how far you have lagged behind. "Learning from Tach'ing in industry" means that, like Tach'ing, we must take the Party's basic line as the key link, persistently follow the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," arm the masses with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and let the broad masses fully display their revolutionary spirit in doing all work well. Such is the fundamental thing we must do.

Man must have some spirit. Only by breaking down blind faith, emancipating the mind and displaying an enormous drive can we advance unswervingly along the road of self-reliance. Experience proves that if the leadership has a correct line and is in high spirits, it can lead the masses to sweep away the pernicious influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius such as "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid," break down all foreign dogmas and old conventions and dare to fight the revisionist line, and it is only then that the wisdom and ability of the worker masses can bear solid fruit. On the other hand, if the leadership does not distinguish between right and wrong in line and, instead of being in high spirits, is content with the status quo and sticks to rules of thumb, being afraid of hardship and hankering after comfort

and leisure, it cannot lead the masses to go in for socialism in a big way or make greater contributions to the state. While stressing the importance of people's state of mind, of course we do not deny that of the necessary material conditions. Objective conditions are important, but it is people, not things, that are decisive. We have seen how small factories have done big jobs and how some of the most up-to-date products have been manufactured on simple equipment. Without factory buildings, some units started production in mat sheds along street lanes and used improvised equipment in the absense of modern machines, and then made radical improvements through technical innovations. These are thought-provoking stories. We cannot build socialism by following the beaten track and leading a comfortable life, nor can we build socialism by "waiting, depending on others and asking for aid." Socialism is built through struggle and hard work. In the past, we defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries and won the victory of the democratic revolution by relying on the revolutionary spirit and revolutionary enthusiasm. Today, to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism, we must display greater zeal and greater revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm. We now have far more favorable conditions than those we had during the past war years. We have already built up a fairly good material basis. There is much room for further development in our industry, agriculture and science and technology, and a great potential lies in all these fields. By relying on the masses and maintaining and enhancing the revolutionary enthusiasm of the daring, death-defying spirit we displayed in the war years, we will surely be able to push forward our cause at a faster pace.

To achieve real success in the spirit of independence and self-reliance, we must continue to criticize the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace. We should see that the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace had very deep social and historical causes in China and are still poisoning a number of people down to this day. These people, who do not think boldly and dare not open a new path, also do not allow others to think boldly and break new ground. When the worker masses catch up with and surpass the world's advanced standards in some technical fields, they still try to find fault with them. Such an utterly erroneous idea must be corrected. Can the Chinese workers not create what the other countries do not have? If we do not dare to think boldly and open a new path and if we do not allow people to suffer certain setbacks and failures on the road of advance, would we not always trail behind others at a snail's pace? When can we catch up with and surpass the world's advanced standards? Placing blind faith in foreign things is in effect placing blind faith in the capitalist system and the capitalist class. A semi-colonial and semi-feudal society prevailed in old China. Imperialism fostered a comprador bourgeoisie and spread slavish ideas everywhere to impose spiritual shackles on the Chinese people and maintain its rule. This, as Lu Hsün said, caused a few people to assume the "appearance of a foreigner's servant." Liberation brought a basic change to the social system. But the influence of such bourgeois ideas will remain for a long time. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique was composed of political representatives of old and new bourgeois elements. Bent on restoration and regression, they were destined to inherit the mantle of the Chinese comprador bourgeoisie, do their best to spread the idea of admiring things foreign and having blind faith in foreigners and take the capitulationist and traitorous path. We must learn from Lu Hsün's proletarian spirit and continue to

criticize Lin Piao's crimes in preaching the fallacies of Confucius and betraying the nation and criticize the bourgeois tendency to worship and place blind faith in foreign things and give full prominence to the spirit of independence and self-reliance.

Our self-reliance does not mean closing the doors to the outside world. It is necessary to import some equipment and introduce some techniques from abroad according to the needs in socialist construction with the purpose of increasing our country's ability to rely on herself. However, we must adopt the scientific attitude of "one divides into two" with respect to foreign equipment and technology. Learning from foreign countries must be combined with a spirit of independent creation. It is wrong to imagine that foreign technology is flawless. There has never been anything in the world that is perfect in every sense. Conditioned by the profit motive of the capitalist class and bound by its idealistic and metaphysical world outlook, technology in capital-imperialist countries inevitably has its backward side. If we do not analyze it and discard its dross while learning or borrowing from its strong points and fail to rest on our independent creation, we will go astray and cause harm to our construction.

"A lot of things cry out to be done." The present situation at home and abroad is excellent. We must seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, maintain our independence and adhere to self-reliance. In the spirit of seizing the day and the hour, we must speed up the tempo of socialist construction and strive, before the end of this century, to achieve overall modernization of China's agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology, so that our national economy will join the front ranks of the world.

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